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*Contributions to the History of Bundelkhand.*—By VINCENT A. SMITH,  
B. A., B. C. S.

PART I.

THE PRAE-CHANDEL PERIOD. (To 830 A. D.)

*The Gaharwárs.*

The traditions current in Mahoba and the villages in the neighbourhood unanimously declare that a Gaharwár Ráj preceded at some undefined date the rule of the famous Chandel dynasty. I have carefully noted all traditions of this kind that I heard, but have not succeeded in learning much about the old Gaharwár chiefs. One fact we know for certain that they were great tank builders, and in the country round Mahoba their tanks are nearly as numerous as those ascribed to the Chandels, from which they may generally, if not always, be distinguished by the circumstance that in the Gaharwár embankments no cut stone is employed, whereas part of the Chandel embankments is generally formed of dressed granite blocks. The antiquity of the Gaharwár works is attested, not only by the rudeness of their construction, but also by the fact that in several cases the embankments are broken and the beds of the lakes or tanks dry.

The greatest of the Gaharwár works is the massive embankment of the BÍjanagar lake, a beautiful sheet of water about four miles in circumference, situated about three miles east of Mahoba.

General Cunningham (Arch. Rep. II, 439) asserts that this lake was the work of Vijaya Pála Chandel in the eleventh century, but, although it

is by some attributed to BÍj Brihm Chandel, the general belief is that it was constructed by the Gaharwárs, and, judging from the style of the masonry, I have no doubt that the latter opinion is correct.

The embankment was repaired by Díwán Mohan Singh, an illegitimate son of Rájá Chhatarsál, about the middle of the last century, and has since been further strengthened by the English authorities. The ruins of Mohan Singh's castle still form a conspicuous object in the view from the embankment.

The Kandaura Tál, situated in the townships of Thána and Paswára, and separated by a narrow strip of land from the BÍjanagar lake, is one of the prettiest of the Bundelkhand lakes. It was constructed, it is said by Kandaaur Singh, an officer of the Gaharwár Rájá.

The following list comprises all the Gaharwár embankments, so far as I have noted them, but it is certainly very incomplete.

#### *Pargana Mahoba.*

##### *Name of village.*

1. Baraipura. A small broken tank. The old *khera* or mound here is named Máhilpur, and is said to have belonged to Máhil Parihár, the counsellor of Rájá Parmál.
2. Bhandrá. A large tank, containing water.
3. Bhaṭewar. A considerable dry tank. The village is said to have belonged to Jagnáik Bhát, a servant of Rájá Parmál, and a prominent personage in the Chand Ráesa.
4. BÍjanagar. An extensive and deep lake, which never dries up.
5. Bilkhí. A considerable lake, which never dries up.
6. Káripahári. A small dry tank.
7. Paswára. A beautiful lake, belonging partly to Paswára and partly to Thána. It is named the Kandaura Tál, and is said to have been constructed by Kandaaur Singh, an officer of the Gaharwár Rájá.
8. Pawá. A considerable but shallow lake, much silted up; it is named Bapurá.

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#### *Pargana Panwári-Jaitpur.*

1. Narerí. A tank, which dries up in the hot weather. It is said to be the work of Narhar Gaharwár.
2. Nunaura *or* Nunyaura. A large tank.
3. Sela Muáf. A tank named Kantalá.

The fact that not one of the tanks above enumerated is situated more than about 15 miles from Mahoba indicates that the Gaharwár principality was restricted to the immediate neighbourhood of that town.

Many of the Chandel tanks and lakes are associated with temples, but, so far as I remember, the Gaharwár tanks never are.

All legend connects the Gaharwár clan with Kási (Benares), but how or when the Gaharwárs obtained possession of Mahoba we know not.

Possibly their movement may have been connected with the commotions which ensued on the death of Harsha Varddhana, the great king of Kanauj, in the middle of the seventh century.

A Gorakhpur tradition affirms that the Gaharwárs are descended from the famous Rájá Nala and came to Kási from Narwar near Gwáliár;\* and, if there be any truth in this story, the Gaharwárs may have taken Mahoba on their way from Narwar to Benares.

There seems to be some reason to believe that the Gaharwár rulers of Bundelkhand were connected with the Gaharwár dynasty of Kanauj, but I am not at present in a position to discuss the point.

### *The Parihárs.*

The traditions preserved by the Kánungo's family of Mahoba declare that the Gaharwár dynasty was succeeded by the rule of Parihárs, who were overthrown in 677 Samvat by Chandra Varmma the first of the Chandel chiefs.

The fact that Mahoba and a large part of Bundelkhand was once subject to Parihár rulers does not rest on the authority of Mahoba traditions alone. I shall now state all the evidence on the point which appears to be at present accessible.

The little principality of Nagod or Uchahara, situated on the high road between Allahabad and Jabalpur about 100 miles from Mahoba in a south-easterly direction, is still governed by a Parihár chief. General Cunningham in his last volume gives the following account of the traditions of this family:

“The original name of the district is said to have been Barmé, and the Barmé Nadí is noted as being the present boundary between the Mahiyar and Uchahara chiefships. But this stream was at first only the boundary line which divided the two districts of north and south Barmé. At Kári Tálai, which once formed part of Mahiyar, I found an inscription with the name of Uchahada. The old name of Barmé is widely known; but few people seemed to know anything about the extent of the country. From the late minister of the Uchahara state, I learned that the Parihár chiefship was older than that of the Chandels of Mahoba, as well as that of the Baghels of Rewa. According to his belief, it formerly included Mahoba and all the country to the north as far as the Gháts and BÍlhari on the south, and extended to Mau Mahewa on the west, and on the east comprised

\* Martin's Eastern India, II, 458 quoted in Beames' Elliot, I, 124 note.

most of the country now held by the Bághels. I do not suppose that the Bághels would admit this eastern extension; but it seems to receive some support from the position assigned by Ptolemy to the *Poruári*, who are very probably the same people as the Parihárs. The great lake at Bilhari, called Lakshman Ságar, is said to have been made by Lakshman Sen Parihár; and the great fort of Singorgarh, still further to the south, contains a pillar bearing the name of a Parihár Rájá. The family has no ancient records, and vaguely claims to have come from Abú-Sikhar in the west (Mount Abú) more than thirty generations ago.

“In Uchahara itself there is no ancient building now standing; but there are numerous fragments of architecture and sculpture which probably date as high as 700 or 800 A. D. This is perhaps the earliest date that can be assigned to the Parihárs in Uchahara, as everybody affirms that they were preceded by a Teliya Ráj, or dynasty of Telís, who resided at *Kho*, over the whole of the country called Barmé.”\*

This Uchahara tradition is, it will be observed, quite in agreement with the Mahoba tradition, so far as the latter goes.

The town of Panwári, situated a few miles from the Dasán River, and about 27 miles W. N. W. of Mahoba, is supposed to have been founded by Rájá Pand, a Parihár Thákur in 960 Samvat = 903 A. D. A fort called Pandí used to exist near where the bazár now stands. The Panwári people also affirm that the Parihár rule preceded the Chandel, and that the Parihár dominions extended from the Jamna to the Narbada. This tradition is supported by the fact that the old name of Panwári was Parhárpur.†

Part of the town of Mahoba is still remembered as the Parihárs' quarter, but Thákurs of any clan do not, with one or two exceptions, now reside in Mahoba, which is believed to have become an unlucky place for both Thákurs and Lodhís since the overthrow of the Chandels.

The earliest inhabitants of 'Arí in Jaitpur are said to have been Parihárs, who constructed a small tank called Nadiyahá, which has an appearance of great antiquity.

An early Parihár occupation is also mentioned in the traditions of a few other villages.

The Mahoba Kánungos name 677 Samvat as the date of the substitution of the Chandel Chandra Varmma for the Parihár ruler. Of course it is now well known that the real founder of the Chandel dynasty was not Chandra Varmma but Nánika. The date, however, can hardly be quite imaginary. General Cunningham and Col. Ellis were on different occasions

\* Arch. Report, IX, pp. 5 and 6. At p. 35, General Cunningham distinguishes Lakshman Sen from Lakshman Singh, and says that the latter was the builder of the Bilahri tank.

† Beames' Elliot, II. 97.

given the following dates for the accession of the Chandels to power—204, 225, 661, and 682. As it is well established that the Chandel dynasty attained power in or about 800 A. D. (probably a little later, say in 830 A. D.), it is clear that these dates do not refer to the Vikrama Samvat.\* General Cunningham proposes, and I think rightly, to refer the smaller numbers, *i. e.*, the dates 204 and 225 to the era of Srí Harsha of Kanauj, which began in 607 A. D., and thus to make them equivalent to 810 and 831 A. D. respectively, a conclusion which is in complete accordance with the Chandel inscriptions.

But, when he attempts to interpret the dates 661 and 682 by referring them to the Sáka era, thus making them equivalent to A. D. 739 and 760 respectively, he is not so happy, for those dates are much too early.

It is curious that the difference between 204 and 225, the extreme dates of one set, and 661 and 682, the extreme dates of the other set, is the same, *viz.*, 21 years.

This circumstance may be accidental, but perhaps it may not be too fanciful to conjecture that the traditions have preserved in two forms the dates of two events which were separated by an interval of 21 years, but have confounded the events.

It is hard to determine the era to which the higher numbers, if they are not purely imaginary, should be referred.

The recently discovered Kulachuri era of the kingdom of Chedi,† which kingdom at one time included Mahoba, naturally occurs to the mind, but that era would give A. D. 910, 926, and 931 respectively as the equivalents of 661, 677 and 682; and the first and last of the dates so obtained are exactly a century later than the dates resulting from the application of the Srí Harsha era to the other set of traditional dates.

Still, in spite of this difficulty, I am disposed to believe that the Chedi era supplies the right key, and I conjecture that there is a mistake of a century in the tradition, and that the larger numbers should be read as 561, 577 and 582.

Such an interpretation of a tradition may appear to the reader unreasonably fanciful, but I justify it by showing that similar mistakes do occur in traditions. I have heard the date of the capture of Mahoba by Rájá Prithiráj stated as S. 1140, the correct date being S. 1240, or more accurately S. 1239; and my notes give the traditional date for the foundation of Murhári near Jaitpur as “S. 641 or S. 741.”

What is probably an instance of a similar error will be noticed in the discussion on the reign of Madana Varmma Chandel in the second part of this essay.

\* The known Chandel inscriptions are all beyond doubt dated in the Vikrama Samvat.

† See Arch. Rep. IX. 111 and 112.

I conclude therefore that the date A. D. 831, which best accords with the evidence of the inscriptions, is the correct date for the overthrow of the Parihár chief of Mahoba by Nánika Chandel.

Perhaps some important stage in the contest between the rival chieftains marked the year 810, twenty-one years before the final victory.

The existence to this day of the little Parihár State of Uchahara shows that the Chandel success involved no extermination of the vanquished. The Uchahara chief probably throughout retained his local jurisdiction, in subordination at one time to the Chandels, and at another to the Haihayas or Kulachuris of Chedi, just as he now retains it in subordination to the British Crown.

In the same way we need find no difficulty in believing that Panwári was occupied by a Parihár Rájá in 903 A. D., in which year the Rájá of Mahoba was one of the early Chandels, most probably Ráhila Varmma.

The Lakshman Ságar at Bilahrí midway between Jabalpur and Uchahara is attributed to Lakshman Singh (? Sen) Parihár, who is said to have reigned 900 years ago. If this be true, he was probably a vassal of the king of Chedi, for Bilahrí does not appear to have been generally within the limits of the Chandel dominions, although, as will be shown, it was probably held by Madana Varmma in A. D. 1164.

I therefore accept the tradition as probably true which affirms that the Parihár kingdom extended over most of Bundelkhand, and I believe that its extent was larger about 800 A. D. than at any other time. The Chandels, in or about 831 A. D., ousted the Parihárs from the government of Mahoba and also probably from that of Kálinjar and Khajuráho, the Parihárs retaining their grasp on Uchahara and the surrounding country.

I was informed by the Bundela zemindárs of Kheoraha-Jeoraha in Pargana Mahoba that the capital of the Parihár kingdom was Mau-Sahan-ia between Nayagaon (Nowgong) and Chhatarpur.

According to the local tradition,\* Mauza Murhári, close to Jaitpur, was founded in 1137 Samvat = 1080 A. D. by Rájá Udaikaran Parihár, who is said to have belonged to the same clan as Máhil, the adviser of Rájá Parmál Chandel. The tradition adds, that this Rájá was defeated in battle by the king of Dehli. The remains of his fort are still to be seen. Whether he was connected or not with the old Parihár dynasty I cannot say.

The Parihárs, who, at later dates, entered Bundelkhand, seem to have had no connection with the early rulers of the country, but their traditions are perhaps worth noting.

The Parihárs, who settled in 25 villages along the Dasán river,

\* That is to say, as I heard it myself. The other traditional dates 641 and 741 given above were obtained by a native agent.

arrived in the year 1303 Samvat = 1246 A. D. from Gwáliar. There can be little doubt that this migration was consequent on the capture of Gwá-liar and the destruction of the Parihár Ráj there by Altamish (Iltitish) in 1232 A. D.

The Parihárs of the Dasán assert that Rájá Rám the leader of the immigrants in 1246 A. D. founded seven forts at the following places :—

(1) Rámgarh, in Pargana Ráth, among the ravines of the Dasán, now deserted ; (2) Panwári ; (3) Ráth, on the site known as the Old Fort, where the Tahsíl now stands ; (4) Kálpí ; (5) Magraut in the N. W. corner of Pargana Ráth ; (6) Chandaut or Chanot, in Pargana Jalálpur, where the Ráth and Kálpí road crosses the Betwa ; and (7) at Banda, the Old Fort.

This tradition seems to confuse the memory of the Præ-Chandel kingdom of the Parihárs with that of the movements of the Parihár clan resulting from the Musalmán successes.

Mauza Baura near Jaitpur was occupied by Parihárs from Salárpur in 1404 Samvat or 1347 A. D., which year fell in the reign of Muhammad Tughlak.

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## PART II.

### THE CHANDEL PERIOD.

831-1182 A. D.

The general outline of the Chandel genealogy and chronology was satisfactorily settled by General Cunningham in his Report for 1864-1865, but some details still admit of discussion, and later discoveries require the modification of some of the conclusions then arrived at by General Cunningham.

In the following pages I shall endeavour to exhibit concisely all that is now known respecting the reign of each of the Chandel princes, and shall at the same time discuss the doubtful points in the chronology and genealogy of the dynasty, entering into a more complete collation of the published and translated inscriptions than has yet been attempted.

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#### (I.) *Nánika.* (Probable date 831-850 A. D.)

This prince is mentioned as the founder of the dynasty in the long Lálájí (or Visvanáth) and Chaturbhuj inscriptions of Dhanga at Khajuráho, and in the imperfect Mahoba inscription dated S. 1240.\*

\* Proc., A. S. B., for 1879, page 143.

We know nothing of the events of his reign, but it may be assumed that he was the leader who wrested Mahoba from the Parihárs.

(II.) *Vákpati.* (Probable date 850-870.)

Mentioned only in the Lálájí and Chaturbhuj inscriptions.

Nothing positive is known of his reign, but it should be noted that Bhoja king of Kanauj held the fort of Chanderí in 862 A. D.,\* and that that position was consequently not in possession of Vákpati.

(III.) *Vijaya.* (Probable date 870-890.)

Mentioned only in the same inscriptions as Vákpati, and nothing definite is known about him; he is called a "great conqueror" in the Lálájí inscription.

(IV.) *Ráhila.* (Probable date 890-910.)

Ráhila, like Vijaya and Vákpati, is mentioned in the Lálájí and Chaturbhuj inscriptions only, among the longer extant documents, but his name is found graven on several of the stones of one of the temples at Ajaigarh, and he is the reputed builder of some of the tanks and temples at that fortress.†

We may therefore infer that in his time the Chandel dominions included Ajaigarh, and there can be little doubt that from the first they included the neighbouring stronghold of Kálinjar, which is associated by tradition with the beginnings of Chandel greatness.

Up to the time of Parmál's defeat in 1182 A. D. the Chandel kingdom seems to have always included Mahoba, Kálinjar and Khajuráho. It cannot be far from the truth to assert that Kálinjar, with its celebrated fortress, was the military capital; Khajuráho, with its multitude of temples, the religious, and Mahoba, with the Rájá's residence, the civil capital of the Chandel State.

In the inscriptions, so far as I am aware, the Rájás always take the title of "lord of Kálinjar."

Chand describes Ráhila as a great conqueror, whose victorious arms penetrated to Ceylon, but this is of course an absurd exaggeration.

The poet also ascribes to him the foundation of Rasan in Pargana Badausa, distant about 20 miles N. E. from Kálinjar, and on this point the poet may be right, for Rasan is undoubtedly ancient. As the place has not been described at length, I may take this opportunity of inserting some notes about the antiquities there, kindly communicated to me by Mr. A. Cadell, who writes: "It had evidently been at one time a place of im-

\* Arch. Report, IX. p. 102.

† *Ibid.* VII, 41.



portance. The hill was fortified, and on the top there is a Chandel temple, of the usual shape, very plain, with no figures carved on the stone as at Gulrámpur.\* The temple and colonnade are very little injured, but the only inscriptions are on stones at the entrance, and are no doubt of later date. To the east of the temple is a *baithak* built of unusually large stones, roughly but well fitted; the surface of many of the stones is about three feet square.

“Oldest Rasan was on the slope of the hill; there are still remains of houses, and towards the plain there is a gateway made of stone taken from old buildings.”

These notes, I think, indicate that the buildings at Rasan are older than the highly decorated edifices at Khajuráho of the 10th and 11th centuries, and so far confirm the statement that the city was founded by Ráhila.

The Ráhilya Ságar and the fine, but much injured, cruciform granite temple on its embankment near Mahoba are undoubtedly the work of Ráhila, and their existence proves that he held Mahoba as well as Ajaigarh and Kálinjar.

Kokalla I the Kulachuri king of Chedi (*i. e.*, the country round Jabalpur) married a Chandel princess named Nandá Deví,† who was probably the daughter either of Ráhila or of his predecessor Vijaya.

I may take this opportunity of noting that the dynasty generally known as Chandel (Chandella) is in some inscriptions, *e. g.*, the Lálájí inscription at Khajuráho, called Chandrátreya, a name which might also be applied to the Kulachuri kings, for they too pretended to trace their descent back to the moon through the mythical Atri.‡

(V.) *Harsha.* (Probable date 910-930.)

This prince is mentioned in the Lálájí, Chaturbhuj and Nunaura No. II inscriptions.

The Lálájí inscription informs us that he was a great conqueror, and that he married Kankutá of the race of Gangá, but we know nothing more.

(VI.) *Yaso Varmma.* (Probable date 930-950.)

This prince was the son of Harsha, and is mentioned in the same inscriptions.

His consort was Narmá Deví.

\* Gulrámpur also is in Pargana Badausa. The antiquities there have not been described.

† Arch. Raport, IX, 83.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 101.

General Cunningham informs me that he possesses “inscriptions of Yaśo Varmma’s grandchildren,” but nothing has been published concerning these documents.

(VII.) *Dhanga.* (*Date circa 950-999.*)

The earliest dated inscriptions of the Chandel dynasty, as yet discovered, belong to the reign of Dhanga.\*

Three undoubted dated inscriptions of this prince are known, *viz.*,—

(1.) The Chaturbhuj inscription at Khajuráho, dated S. 1011 = 954 A. D.

(2.) The Nunaura No. II inscription, dated S. 1055 = 998 A. D.

(3.) The Lálájí inscription at Khajuráho, dated S. 1056 = 999 A. D. which records Dhanga’s death in that year.

The short inscription, dated S. 1011, on the doorpost of the Jinanáth temple at Khajuráho appears to contain Dhanga’s name, but the reading is doubtful.

An inscription, now apparently lost, which General Cunningham found at Mahoba, gave the Chandel genealogy from Dhanga to Kírtti Varmma, that is, I presume, to Kírtti Varmma I.

The Mau-Chhatarpur inscription without date may have contained Dhanga’s name at the beginning where the stone is imperfect, and his name is expressly mentioned in verse 21, which tells us that his minister was named Prabhása.

In 999 A. D., according to the Lálájí inscription, his minister was Yasondhara.

The Rájá of Kálinjar, who, in common with the Rájás of Dehli, Ajmír and Kanauj, assisted Rájá Jaipál of Lahore in his unsuccessful invasion of Ghazní, and at the battle of Lamghán in the Pesháwar valley in 978 A. D., must necessarily have been Dhanga.

The beginning of the Mau-Chhatarpur inscription states that the king eulogized, “having overcome the king of Kányakubja (Kanauj), chief “amongst all in battle, obtained sovereignty”; but here the name is lost, and it is uncertain whether the reference is to Dhanga, or to his successor Ganda, who certainly did conquer Kanauj.

The Lálájí inscription asserts that Dhanga kept prisoners the consorts of the Rájás of Kásí (Benares), Andhra (Telingána?) Anga (West Bengal) and Rádha (?), and that he had in attendance the kings of Kosala (North Audh?), Kuntala (Ballarí?), Kratha (Berar?), and Sinhala (Ceylon).

These boasts are plainly exaggerations, but it is evident that Dhanga was the most powerful of the early Chandel kings.

\* For list of Chandel inscriptions with full references *vide post.*

In all probability the existing Lálájí temple at Khajuráho was the shrine of the great “emerald lingam” referred to in the inscription.

The erection of this costly and elaborate temple is another proof of Dhanga’s wealth and power.

Dhanga cannot have been a sectarian bigot, for his Chaturbhuj inscription is Vaishnava, and his Lálájí inscription is Saiva.

This prince died at the sacred confluence of the Ganges and Jumna at Prayág (Allahabád) aged “upwards of one hundred autumns” in the year 999 A. D.

Dr. Rájendralál Mitra has pointed out that the common interpretation of the passage in the Lálájí inscription describing Dhanga’s death, which assumes that he committed suicide, is incorrect, and that “the ordinary civil way of announcing a death is to say, so-and-so has surrendered his life to the holy river so-and-so, or the sacred pool (*kshetra*) so-and-so, and the inscription has probably adopted the same mode of expression.”\*

It is to be observed that the grant recorded in the Nunaura No. II inscription was made at Kásí by Dhanga in the autumn of 999 A. D., but it is of course possible that he may merely have gone there on a pilgrimage, and that Benares was never included in his dominions.

The inscriptions show that Dhanga must have succeeded his father Yaso Varmma in or about the year 950 A. D.

#### (VIII.) *Gandā.* (Date 999 A. D. to circa 1025.)

This prince is not mentioned in any extant inscription except the Mau-Chhatarpur one, but must have been named in the missing Mahoba inscription before referred to.

If he was Dhanga’s son he must have been well advanced in years on his succession in 999.

Gandā must have been the Rájá of Kálinjar who assisted Rájá Jaipál of Lahore against Mahmúd of Ghazní in 1008 A. D. and he must likewise be identified with the Nanda Rai, Rájá of Kálinjar, who according to Farishta, conquered Kanauj and killed its ruler in 1021 A. D. and who was, in punishment for his audacity, attacked by Mahmúd, to whom he surrendered Kálinjar with 14 other forts in 1023 A. D.

It is unfortunate that the names of these forts have not been preserved, for the extent of the Chandel dominions at any given time is very imperfectly known.

The dates given above limit closely the possible duration of Gandā’s reign, for we know that it began in 999 A. D. and that two reigns intervened between its close and the accession of Deva Varmma Deva (*alias* Kírtti Varmma I) who was reigning in 1050 A. D.

\* J. A. S. Bengal Vol. XLVII, Part I, page 74.

The fact that an inscription dated S. 1058 = 1011 A. D. containing the name of Rájá Kokalla, is in the Lálájí temple at Khajuráho, has suggested the conjecture that Kokalla II of Chedi may have attacked the Chandel dominions early in Gaṇḍa's reign,\* but this inscription has not been published nor translated, and there is no other evidence of such an attack.

It is, however, certain that at one time, which must have been prior to the reign of Kírtti Varmma (1049-1100) the conqueror of Chedi, the kings of Chedi did exercise authority over Kálinjar, for in their inscriptions some of them assume the title of "lord of Kálanjjarapura."†

The Mau-Chhatarpur inscription informs us that Dhanga's minister Prabhása continued to serve under Gaṇḍa.

(IX.) *Vidhyádharma Deva.* (Probable date 1025-1035.)

This prince is mentioned only in the Mau-Chhatarpur and Nunaura No. I, inscriptions, and, except that there is no doubt as to his place in the genealogy, and that we are told that his minister was named Sivanáma, we know nothing positive of his reign.

He was contemporary with Gángaya Deva king of Dáhal or Chedi, who in 1030-31 A. D., as we learn from Abú Rihán, had his capital at Tripuri near Jabalpur.‡

It is to be observed that the geographer includes both Gwáliar and Kálinjar in the country of Jajhoti, which was distinct from the country of Dáhal. At that time Gwáliar was under the immediate rule of local Kachhwáha chieftains, but it is possible that they may have acknowledged the suzerainty of the greater Chandel kings.

(X.) *Vijaya Pála Deva.* (Probable date 1035-1049.)

This Rájá is mentioned in the same inscriptions as his predecessor is. His minister was Mahípála, and we learn from the Nunaura No. I inscription, that he had a queen named Bhuvana Deví, who was the mother of his successor, who is in that inscription named Deva Varmma Deva; but with these two facts our information ceases.

(XI.) *Kírtti Varmma Deva I, alias Deva Varmma Deva, alias Bhúmipála.*  
(Probable date 1049-1100.)

With this prince the difficulty in reconciling the inscriptions begins.

The Mau-Chhatarpur inscription declares (verse 7) that the successor of Vijapapála was Kírtti Varmma Deva "famed unto the sea-shore," and informs us that his minister was Ananta, who is praised at length.

\* Arch. Report IX. 86.

† *Ibid.* 77.

‡ *Ibid.* 106.

The Nunaura No. I inscription states that Vijaya Pála was succeeded by his son “the devout follower of Mahesvara, the lord of Kálinjar, Srí Deva Varmma Deva,” to whom the usual praise is given.

Maisey’s No. II, Nílkantth inscription from Kálinjar has the following words in verse 7, (the preceding lines being illegible). “Was born Bijaya-pála, from him sprang Bhúmipála, who with his sharp sword destroyed many kings.”

It is therefore evident that Kírtti Varmma I, Deva Varmma Deva, and Bhúmipála, who are all recorded as having succeeded Vijaya Pála, were one and the same person.

It is difficult to fix the length of the reign of this many-named prince; for, as will presently be demonstrated, there was a second Kírtti Varmma, who may possibly be the Kírat Brahm of traditional fame.

One date in the reign under discussion is certain, namely, that of the Nunaura No. I inscription, S. 1107 = 1050-1 A. D., and this date must be very near the beginning of the reign, for Gaṇḍa Deva was alive in 1023 A. D., and two reigns intervene between Gaṇḍa and Deva Varmma *alias* Kírtti Varmma. We may therefore assume that the reign of the latter began in 1149 A. D., a date which must be very nearly quite correct.

I believe his reign to have been, like that of Dhanga, exceptionally long; for, after careful consideration of all the available evidence, I have come to the conclusion that Kírtti Varmma I, and not Kírtti Varmma II, is the prince mentioned in the prologue to the Prabodha Chandrodāya as the conqueror of Chedi, and further that he is the Kírat Brahm of tradition, and that the unpublished inscription cut on the rock at Deogarh in 1097 A. D. is his work.\*

The defeat of Karna king of Chedi by Kírtti Varmma Chandel is attested by two independent documents, the prologue to the Prabodha Chandrodāya, and Maisey’s No. II Kálinjar inscription.

Karna of Chedi was reigning (as the Benares copper-plate inscription shows) in 793 of the Chedi Samvat, equivalent to 1042 A. D.† and his reign seems to have extended till about 1075 A. D., or perhaps a few years later.

The prologue to the Prabodha Chandrodāya distinctly ascribes the subjection of Karna to Kírtti Varmma, but Maisey’s No. II inscription ascribes the defeat of “the immense army of Karna” not, as might be expected to Bhúmipála, the *alias* of Kírtti Varmma, but to Bhúmipála’s son, whose name is missing from the inscription.

The words are contained in verse 8, which follows verse 7 already quoted, apparently without any break. His (*scil.* Bhúmipála’s) “son

\* Arch. Report, IX, 108.

† *Ibid.* p. 82.

“made low the kings, as Agastya made low the mountain (*i. e.*, the Vin-dhya mountains). Having conquered the southern country, speedily defeated the immense army of Karna [a break] *verse* 9. \* \* which was watered by the flood of tears of the gazelle-eyed females of Málwa [a break] \* \* *verse* 10. His son Jaya Varmma Deva etc.”

From the Mau-Chhatarpur inscription we infer, with I think certainty, that the name of the son of Bhúmipála, *alias* Kírtti Varmma I, and the father of Kírtti Varmma II, *alias* Jayapála, was Sallakshana. I conclude therefore that the actual conqueror of Chedi was Sallakshana, while heir-apparent and acting under the orders of his father Kírtti Varmma I.

The Kálinjar inscription just quoted shows clearly that Kírtti Varmma II, *alias* Jaya Varmma, cannot have been the conqueror of Chedi, for that prince was the grandson of Bhúmipála.

The fort of Deogarh, now in the Lalitpur district, lies so far to the south-west towards Málwa, that it probably was in general held by the kings of Chedi. I infer in consequence that the inscription of Kírtti at Deogarh, dated 1097 A. D., is the work of Kírtti Varmma I, the conqueror of Chedi, to whom also should be ascribed the formation of the lake known as the Kírat Ságar near the fort of Chanderi, which is only a few miles distant from Deogarh.

The embankment of the lake bearing the same name at Mahoba is also probably the work of the same king.

“The people are unanimous” in referring the foundation of the town of Old Chanderi, 9 miles from the fort and more modern town, to the Chandels of Mahoba. General Cunningham was (though for no convincing reason) inclined to throw doubt on this tradition,\* but I see no reason why it should be discredited, confirmed as it is by the names of the town and of the Kírat Ságar, and by the existence of the inscription at Deogarh.

For the reasons given above I am convinced that Kírtti Varmma I, under whose orders the conquest of Chedi was effected, is the Kírat Brahm of Bundelkhand tradition.

He is credited with having repaired the fortifications of Kálinjar, and with having constructed some of the buildings at Ajaigarh.†

To this king also should be assigned the coins bearing the name of Kírtti Varmma, because coins are known of his grandson Kírtti Varmma II, *alias* Jaya Varmma, stamped with the name of Jaya Varmma.

No coin of any kind is known to exist which can be assigned to any of the predecessors of Kírtti Varmma I, who appears to have been the first of the Chandels who coined money.

The coins of him and his successors are extremely rare, and are imita-

\* Arch. Report, II, 402 and 405.

† *Ibid.* VII, 47.

tions of the coinage of the Kulachuri kings of Chedi, which appears to have been first issued by Rájá Gángaya Deva, who was reigning in 1030-1 A. D.\*

It seems evident that Kírtti Varmma after his conquest of Chedi adopted the system of coinage there practised.

With reference to the date of the Deogarh inscription and of Karna Kulachuri's reign I would provisionally date the conquest of Chedi and the first issue of Chandel coins in 1070 to 1080 A. D., some twenty years or more before the close of the reign of Kírtti Varmma I.

It is possible that the fort of Deogarh may have been built or rebuilt by this king, and called after him under his name of Deva Varmma Deva.

(XII.) *Sallakshana Varmma Deva.* (Probable date 1100-1110.)

Unluckily, both in the Mau-Chhatarpur inscription and in Maisey's No II, there is a lacuna in the genealogy where the name of the successor of Kírtti Varmma I, *alias* Bhúmipála, should come in; but, as General Cunningham has satisfactorily shown by an examination of the later verses of the Mau-Chhatarpur inscription, the missing name must have been Sallakshana.

I may add as further proof the argument that coins of Sallakshana (Hallakshana) are extant, and that verse 37 of the Mau-Chhatarpur inscription speaks of Sallakshana as "the sovereign ruler," and, that the rest of the Chandel genealogy being known with certainty, there is no other gap but this to be filled up by the name of a Rájá Sallakshana exercising the regal privilege of coining money.

The Mau-Chhatarpur inscription, which is here much injured, appears to state that Vatsu, Vámana and Pradyumna, sons of Kírtti Varmma's minister Ananta, all served under Sallakshana.

The reign of Sallakshana was certainly short, for his predecessor was reigning in 1097 A. D. and his successor in 1116 A. D.

(XIII.) *Jaya Varmma Deva* *alias* *Kírtti Varmma II.*  
(Probable date 1110-1120.)

This prince is mentioned under the name of Jaya Varmma in the Lálájí inscription, the supplement to which was inscribed in his reign, in the year 1173 = 1116 A. D.

\* Arch. Report, IX, 106 and II, 458. In 1871 only 36 specimens of the Chandel coinage were known to have been ever discovered, and of these 13 had been lost in the mutiny. I have not heard of any being found of late years. Of the 23 remaining, I possess two, for which I am indebted to the generosity of General Cunningham. In the course of six years residence in Bundelkhand I have not succeeded in discovering a single specimen.

A few coins too are known bearing the name of Jaya Varmma Deva.

In the Mau-Chhatarpur inscription he is described under the same name as the son of [Sallakshana] Varmma, and is praised in the usual fashion.

This inscription further informs us that his younger uterine brother was named Sallakshana Varmma. The words are “(verse 11) Jaya Varmma Deva etc., (verse 12). The fortunate Sallakshana Varmma was the uterine and younger brother of this lord of the earth; afterwards the prince Prithví Varmma, equal to the task, sustained the burden of the hereditary government.”

Verse 13 praises Prithví Varmma for his piety, and verse 14 tells us that “from him was born Madana Varmma, the protector of the earth,” whose praises are then detailed.

The inscription seems to have been erected in the reign of Madana Varmma.

The above words indicate that Sallakshana Varmma the younger was not a ruling prince; and indeed he cannot have been, for there is no room for two Sallakshanas in the roll of sovereigns. The younger Sallakshana is mentioned very much in the same way as Pratápa Varmma, the younger brother of Madana Varmma Deva, is mentioned in Maisey’s No. II inscription.

That document in verse 10 describes Jaya Varmma as “devoted to the worship of Náráyana,” and in verse 11 it is recorded that “being wearied of government, the king made it over to \* \* \* Varmma and proceeded to wash away his sins in the divine river \* \* (verse 12). They departed their lives, and obtained all their desires in the next world (verse 13). “After him Madana Varmma etc.”

In the Augási copper-plate, dated S. 1190 = 1133 A. D., the order of succession is given as Kírtti Varmma, Prithví Varmma, Madana Varmma. As both this document and the Mau-Chhatarpur inscription agree in interposing only the name of Prithví Varmma between Madana Varmma and in the one case Jaya Varmma, and in the other case Kírtti Varmma, it necessarily follows that the name missing in Maisey’s No. II, is that of Prithví Varmma, and that Jaya Varmma and Kírtti Varmma II were one and the same person, the grandson of Kírtti Varmma I.\*

This argument shows that Dr. Rájendralála Mitra cannot be right in identifying the Kírtti Varmma of the Augási plate with Sallakshana.

Jaya Varmma’s and Prithví Varmma’s reigns must both have been short, because Kírtti Varmma I was reigning in 1097, and Madana Varmma in 1131 A. D.

\* “The numerous instances in which the grandson takes his grandfather’s name, “and which is an interminable source of confusion in Indian chronological enquiries.” Fergusson’s *Indian Architecture*, p. 715.



(XIV.) *Prithví Varmma Deva.* (Probable date 1120-1130.)

The inscriptions which mention this Rájá have already been discussed. A few coins of his are extant, but we know nothing definite about him, except that he was the father of Madana Varmma Deva, and that he is praised for his piety in the Mau-Chhatarpur inscription. The passage in that document relating to his ministers scarcely yields sense.

(XV-) *Madana Varmma Deva.* (Probable date 1130-1165.)

The dated inscriptions of this prince are unusually numerous, and when considered along with those of his successor, fix the limits of his reign very closely.

They are as follows :—

- |    |                                 |                       |
|----|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | Maisey's No. IV, from Kálinjar, | S. 1188 = A. D. 1131. |
| 2. | Augásí copper plate             | S. 1190 = A. D. 1133. |
| 3. | Nemináth statue at Mahoba       | S. 1211 = „ 1154.     |
| 4. | Sambhunáth „ „ Khajuráho        | S. 1215 = „ 1158.     |
| 5. | Sumatináth „ „ Mahoba           | S. „ = „ „            |
| 6. | Ajitanáth „ „ „                 | S. 1220 = „ 1163.     |

The earliest inscription of his successor Paramárdi Deva is dated 1167 A. D.

Madana Varmma's name is preserved in the designation of the Madan Ságar lake at Mahoba, and in that of a small mound of ruins at Máhilpur or Máhinpur about three miles east of the town, and known as Madan Khera.

The bardic lists all insert Kírtti Varmma between Madana Varmma and Paramárdi Deva, but these lists are worthless as evidence of the order of succession, and we have already seen that there were really two Kírtti Varmmas, at an earlier date.

In the Dahi copper-plate, which will be discussed in Part III, of this essay, the name of Paramárdi's predecessor was read from an imperfect copy as Yádava, an obvious mistake for Madana.

A few gold and copper coins of Madana Varmma Deva are extant.

The numerous Jain images bearing dates, which fall within the limits of Madana Varmma's reign, and four of which are expressly stated to have been set up in his time, prove that under his rule the Jain religion flourished.

In the Augásí copper-plate Madana Varmma calls himself the devout worshipper of Śiva, but whatever his own belief may have been, it is evident that he freely tolerated a rival creed.

The poet Chand and the inscriptions concur in testifying that Madana Varmma was a great and successful warrior who widely extended the rule of his house.

If the words of verse 14 of the Kálinjar No. II inscription are to be literally taken, Madana Varmma pushed his victories as far west as Guzerat, and Chand confirms the statement, but it is perhaps safer to believe that the conquest of Chedi which Madana Varmma really effected may have been exaggerated. The words of the Kálinjar inscription are "He in an instant defeated the king of Gurjjara, as Krishna in former times defeated Kanşa. He undertook an expedition to conquer the world. \* \* \*"

The undated Mau-Chhatarpur inscription records the conquest of Chedi by Madana Varmma.

It will be remembered that Kírtti Varmma I had conquered Chedi in the reign of Karna Kulachuri, prior apparently to the year 1097 A. D. The Kulachuri power must have recovered in the early part of the twelfth century to render necessary the second conquest by Madana Varmma.

The latest known inscription of the Kulachuris of Chedi is one of Vijaya Deva dated in 932 of the Chedi era = 1181 A. D. General Cunningham (Arch. Rep. IX, 113) conjectures that the Chedi dynasty was overthrown by the growing power of the Baghels of Rewá, but produces no evidence in support of his conjecture.

It seems to be more reasonable to suppose that the decline of the Kulachuri dynasty of Chedi was due rather to the effects of the victories of the neighbouring Chandel king than to the rise of the Baghel power to the east of the Chandel territory. The existence of a Kulachuri inscription, dated 1181 A. D., shows that the dynasty, though weakened, survived the Chandel attack.

With reference to the conquest of Chedi by Madana Varmma a passage in Colonel Sleeman's writings is interesting. He writes about Singolgarh, "This fortress is of immense extent, and was built by Rájá Belo, a prince of the Chundele Rájput tribe, who reigned over that country before it was added to the Gurha Mundala dominions," and in a note he adds: "The Mahoba family were Chundele Rájputs, and their dominion had extended over Singolegurh, as above stated, and also over Belehrí, or the district of Kanoja in which it is comprised. The capital of Belehrí was Kondulpore, three miles west from the town of Belehrí. There is a stone inscribed by Rájá Mulun Deo on the dedication of a temple at Kondulpore dated Samvat 815, A. D. 758. He was one of the Chundele Rájás."

General Cunningham in his account of Bilharí and the surrounding country makes no mention even of the existence of such a place as Kondalpur, nor does he seem to have looked for the inscription said by Col. Sleeman to exist there.

He throws doubt on the facts recorded on the authority of tradition

by Col. Sleeman in the following remarks: "According to Sir William Sleeman, the fort of Singorgarh was built by Rájá Belo, one of the Chandel Rájás of Mahoba. But none of my informants had ever heard of Rájá Belo Chandel; and I have very grave doubts as to the Chandel rule having ever extended so far to the south."

"The whole of this part of the country would appear to have belonged to the Parihárs or Pratihárs, as we find was actually the case in A. D. 1307, when these monoliths were erected. But the Pratihárs were tributary to the great kings of Chedi, whose rule certainly extended as far north as Bharhut and Kálinjar. The latter place was recovered by the Chandels in the 11th century; but the Kulachuris still held the country about Bharhut in the 12th century."

Sir William Sleeman, however, was an accurate and careful inquirer, and traditions recorded by him demand careful consideration, and although General Cunningham's informants knew nothing of Rájá Belo, there is some evidence of his existence, and also of the fact that Bilhari was at one time part of the Chandel dominions.

It is true that the genealogies of the regnant Chandel princes given in the inscriptions do not include the name of Rájá Belo or Belá, but it is also true that the name is included in all the bardic lists, and that it is traditionally remembered.

The lake at Jaitpur, called the Belá Tál is supposed to be named after Rájá Bel Brihm, and is said to have been constructed in the year 1200 Samvat = 1143 A. D. This date, which was that given to both Mr. Wigram and myself, is probably only a round number. Mr. Carne, formerly Assistant Collector in charge of Mahoba and Jaitpur, was told that the exact date was 1268 S. = 1211 A. D., but that date is certainly too late, the Chandels having lost Mahoba in 1182 A. D.

A Bel *lchera* exists at Bijanagar near Mahoba, and at Ajnar there is an ancient well named Belá, and ascribed to the Chandels.

Several instances are known of works ascribed by tradition to Chandel chiefs who find no place in the authentic lists of regnant monarchs; for example, the Ratan Ságar, with a fine temple on the embankment, at Urwára in Pargana Mahoba, and the Barsí Talao, with temples, near Pahra in the same pargana, are ascribed respectively to Ratan Brahm and Bár or Bál Brahm Chandels, and are evidently of Chandel origin.

Bár Brahm (Bála Varmma) is also believed to have built the fort of Bárigarh, now in native territory, some ten miles distant from Mahoba.

Bár Brahm and Ratan Brahm, like Bel Brahm, are included in the bardic lists. All three were probably, like Pratápa Varmma and Sallakshana Varmma of the inscriptions, younger scions of the royal house, and really executed the works which bear their names.

There is no reason I think to doubt Sir Wm. Sleeman's assertion that in his time an inscription existed at Kondalpur, in which the name of the Chandel Rájá was read as 'Mulun Deo' and the date as Samvat 815.

There was no Rájá named Malan Deo, and it is an obvious correction to read Madana Deva, and it is equally obvious that the date 815, if correctly read, should not be referred to the Vikrama era, for there were no Chandel Rajas in 758 A. D.

Dates have often been misread, and I think it most likely that in this case the first figure was wrongly read, and that the real date was 915 of the Chedi Samvat = A. D. 1164, which year would fall within, but at the close, of Madana Varmma's reign.

Sir Wm. Sleeman's statement that Bilhari was included in the Chandel dominions is fully borne out by the following statement, which appears to be based on independently obtained information :—

“ A local governor appointed by the Chandels of Mahoba was stationed at Bilharí in Jabalpur, to whom the territory, now comprised in the Ságor and Damoh districts was subordinate.”\*

The fact of a temporary Chandel occupation of Bilharí is not inconsistent with the existence of a Kulachuri inscription, dated 909 K. S. = 1158 A. D., at Bharhut far north of Jabalpur,† for I think it probable that the Chandel attack did not take place till about 1160, the Kondalpur inscription having been set up by Madana Varmma, according to my theory, in 1164.

But even if the Chandel success was gained at an earlier date, the Kulachuri chief at Bharhut may well have retained local power in subordination to the conqueror.

The conquest of one native state by another does not necessarily imply the extinction of the dynasty of the defeated chieftain.

On a review of all the evidence I believe that late in the reign of Madana Varmma the Chandel dominions included Bilharí, which was administered by a local governor, who was most probably a scion of the Chandel house, known as Rájá Belá or Belo.

(XVI.) *Paramárdi Deva (Parmál or Parmár).*

*Date circa 1165 to 1202 A. D.*

This prince is commonly, though inaccurately, spoken of as the last of his dynasty; his defeat by Rájá Pirthiráj of Delhi having impressed itself on the popular memory.

He appears to have been the son of Madana Varmma, and was certainly his immediate successor, but it is curious that none of the published

\* Central Provinces Gazetteer, 2nd edition, p. 176.

† Arch. Report, IX, 94.

inscriptions give the genealogy of Paramárdi Deva; nor is any coin of his known, and there is only known one inscription of his of which we can say that we are certain of the date.

General Cunningham indeed (Arch. Rep. II, 447) affirms that “of Parmál or Paramárdi Deva there are three dated inscriptions ranging from S. 1224 to S. 1240, or A. D. 1167 to 1183.”

But on consulting his list of inscriptions on the next page we find that one of them is the Mahoba inscription dated 1240, and another Maisey’s No. I inscription, which is cited as being dated 1228 S.

Now, the Mahoba inscription dated 1240 S. is that at present built into the wall of the Engineer’s bungalow near Mahoba, from which the Rájá’s name is lost, and the date of Maisey’s No. I inscription is extremely doubtful.

As published and translated that inscription bears the date of S. 1298 and not 1228.\* Other readings are S. 1209 and S. 1198.‡

The inscription undoubtedly commemorates a king named Paramárdi Deva, but until the date is definitely settled, we are not entitled even to assume that the person commemorated was Paramárdi Deva Chandel, who died in 1202 A. D. or S. 1259.

Of the proposed readings of the date the only one which falls within the limits of Parmál’s reign is that of S. 1228 = A. D. 1171, proposed by General Cunningham, but unfortunately he assigns no reason for so reading the date, and it is therefore impossible to accept with confidence his reading.

The “three dated inscriptions” of Parmal thus dwindle down to one, that, namely, dated S. 1224 at Mahoba, and even this document is not now to be found, and General Cunningham gives no hint as to the nature of the inscription, or the precise locality where he found it.

Rájá Parmál is the only prince of the Chandel race whose name is widely known, but were it not, (as we shall see in Part III of this paper) that he is mentioned by the Muhammadan historians, we should know almost nothing of his reign.

The detailed particulars respecting it given by Chand and popular tradition are in part obviously mythical, and in part, (*e. g.*, as to the alleged retirement to Gya) can be proved untrue.

There is not even any building or tank of which Parmál can be said with certainty to have been the constructor. Popular tradition ascribes to him in a vague way a great part of the antiquities in the country.

\* J. A. S. B. XVII, (1) pp. 313-317.

‡ Gazetteer, N. W. P. Vol. I, 15, note. The same note refers to inscriptions of Parmál’s dated 1177 and 1178 A. D. apparently on the authority of Pogson’s History of the Boondelas, but I have been unable to verify the reference.

Parmál was certainly defeated and expelled from Mahoba by Rájá Pirthiráj of Delhi in 1182 A. D., and the tale of the conflict as told by Chand has captivated the popular imagination and has become the theme of innumerable songs and legends throughout Upper India.

Chand would have us believe that the defeat was so crushing and overwhelming, that only 200 of Parmál's followers escaped destruction, but his story is manifestly a gross exaggeration, for twenty years later Parmál was able to make a "desperate resistance" against Kutb-ud-dín, and was the master of great wealth, which became the spoil of his Musalmán conqueror.

The heroes of Chand's Mahoba Khand are the miraculously endowed brother heroes, Alhá and Udal, and the poet, in order to enhance their glory, depicts Parmál as a weak coward, swayed by the treacherous counsels of Máhil Parihár. All this is probably pure myth, for if Parmál could make a "desperate resistance in the field" in 1202, it is not likely that he would have sought personal safety in craven flight in 1182.

It is not known whether or not Parmál succeeded in retaining during any part of his reign the territories near the Narbadá, which had been conquered by his predecessor Madana Varmma Deva, but he certainly cannot have retained them after the loss of Mahoba in 1182.

The victory of Pirthiráj may not have been so overwhelming as it is represented by legend to have been, but it certainly marks an epoch in Bundelkhand history, and after 1182 the Chandels seem to have sunk to the position of small local Rájás, their degradation being consummated by Kutb-ud-dín's raid in 1202.

I therefore consider 1182 as the date of the close of the Chandel period, that is to say, of the period during which the Chandels were the leading power in Bundelkhand, and during which they wrought works deserving to be held in remembrance.

The few and indistinct existing notices of Parmál's obscure successors will be discussed in Part III of this paper.

*Chronological Table of the Chandel Dynasty 831—1182 A. D.*

No.	Rájá.	Date A. D.	Event.	Authority.
1	Nánika.	831	Accession, and overthrow of Parihárs at Mahoba.	Tradition and calculation.
2	Vákpatí.	850	Accession.	Date calculated.
		862	Bhoja king of Kanauj in possession of Chanderí.	Inscription at Chanderí, Arch. Report, IX, 84.
3	Vijaya.	870	Accession.	Date calculated.
4	Ráhila.	890	Accession.	.....
5	Harsha.	910	Accession.	.....
6	Yáso Varmma.	930	Accession.	.....
7	Dhanga.	950	Accession.	.....
		954	Building temple at Khajuráho.	Chaturbhuj inscription.
		978	Assisted in battle of Lamghán.	Farishta.
		998	Grant of land.	Nunaura, No. II inscription.
		999	Death at Prayág.	Lálájí inscription.
8	Ganda Deva.	999	Accession.	Ditto and Mau Chhatarpur inscription.
		1008	Assisted Rájá Jaipál of Lahore against Mahmúd of Ghazní.	Farishta.
		1011	Rájá Kokalla.	Inscription at Khajuráho.
		1021	Conquered Kanauj.	Farishta.
		1023	Surrendered Kálanjar to Mahmúd of Ghazní.	
9	Vidhyádharma Deva.	1025	Accession.	Date calculated.
		1030	Gánggaya Deva king of Chedí ruling at Tripuri.	Abú Rihán.
10	Vijaya Pála Deva.	1035	Accession.	Calculated date.
11	Kírtti Varmma Deva the First, <i>alias</i> Deva Varmma Deva <i>alias</i> Bhúmipála.	1049	Accession.	Date calculated.
		1050	Grant of land by Deva Varmma Deva.	Nunaura, No. I inscription.
		circa. 1080	Defeat of Karna of Chedi. First issue of Chandel coinage.	Exact date conjectured.
		1097	In possession of fort of Deogarh.	Inscription at Deogarh.

No.	Rájá.	Date A. D.	Event.	Authority.
12	Sallakshana Varmma Deva.	1100	Accession.	Date calculated.
13	Jaya Varmma Deva <i>alias</i> Kírti Varmma Deva the Second.	1110	Accession.	Date calculated.
		1116	Lálájí inscription re- written.	Lálájí inscription.
14	Prithví Varmma Deva.	1120	Accession.	Date calculated.
15	Madana Varmma Deva.	1130	Accession.	Date calculated.
		1131	Image of Varadá set up at Kálinjar.	Maisey's, No. IV inscription.
		1133	Grant of land.	Augásí copper plate.
		circa. 1143	Construction of Bela Tál at Jaitpur.	Tradition.
		1154	Jain image set up at Mahoba.	Nemináth inscription.
		1158	Ditto ditto.	Sumatináth ditto.
		„	Ditto, at Khajuráho.	Sambhunáth ditto.
		circa. 1160	Conquest of Chedi.	Date conjectured.
		1163	Jain image set up at Mahoba.	Ajitanáth inscription.
		1164?	Inscription set up at Kondalpur?	Sir Wm. Sleeman.
		circa. 1160	Rájá Belo built Singor- garh. Bilhari held	Ditto, and Central Provinces Gazetteer.
		1165	by a Chandel gover- nor.	
16	Paramárdi De- va, known as Parmál or Par- már.	1165	Accession.	Date calculated.
		1167	An inscription record- ed.	Inscription.
		?1171	Inscription recorded at Kálinjar.	? Inscription.
		1182	Capture of Mahoba by Pírthiráj of Delhi.	Inscription of Pírthiráj (unpub- lished).



*Inscriptions of the Chandel Dynasty of Bundelkhand.*

No.	Inscription.	Date.		Reference.
		Samvat.	A. D.	
1	Chaturbhuj.	1011	954	The inscription is on a large slab built into the wall on the right side of the entrance to the Chaturbhuj temple at Khajuráho. It has never been published nor translated. Noticed in Arch. Report, II, 426.
2	Jinanáth.	1011	954	On left jamb of door of Jinanáth's temple at Khajuráho. Never published nor translated in full. Abstract translations in Arch. Report, II, 433 and J. A. S. B. XXIX, p. 395. See also J. A. S. B. XLVIII, Part I, p. 287 and plate.
3	Nunaura, No. II.	1055	998	Copperplate; original in Indian Museum. Transcribed and translated in full in J. A. S. B. XLVII, pp. 80 seqq.
4	Lálájí or Viśvanáth.	1056	999	On a large slab built into wall inside entrance of Lálájí or Viśvanáth temple at Khajuráho. Translated by Mr. Sutherland in J. A. S. B. for 1839. Vol. VIII, p. 159, but with many errors, some of which were corrected by General Cunningham in Proc. A. S. B. for 1865 (1) p. 99.
5	Nunaura, No. I.	1107	1050	As No. 3.
6	Deogarh.	1154	1097	Engraved on rock. Neither published nor translated; referred to in Arch. Report, IX, 108.
7	Inscription at Mahoba.	—	—	Gave genealogy from Dhanga to Kírtti Varmma. Mentioned in Arch. Report, II, 447, but never published nor translated, and the original not now to be found.
8	Supplement to Lálájí inscription.	1137	1116	As No. 4.
9	Maisey's No. IV.	1188	1131	Original at Kálinjar, near figure of 'Mahádeo ká putra'; letters very faint. Transcribed and translated in J. A. S. B. XVII, (1) pp. 191 and 321-322. Text and translation require revision. Erroneously mentioned as dated in S. 1288 in Arch. Report, II, 448, number 33.
10	Augásí.	1190	1133	Copper plate; original with Mr. A. Cadell, C. S. Facsimile and transcript and translation in J. A. S. B. Vol. XLVII, Part I, pp. 73 seqq.

No.	Inscription.	Date.		Reference.
		Samvat.	A. D.	
11	Nemináth.	1211	1154	Jain Statue at Mahoba. Noticed by General Cunningham in Arch. Report, II, 448. The position of the statue is not known.
12	Sambhunáth.	1215	1158	Jain statue at Khajuráho. Translated in Arch. Report, II, 435 and noticed <i>ibid.</i> p. 448. Position of statue now is not known.
13	Sumatináth.	1215	1158	Jain statue lying in water under embankment of Kírat Sagar at Mahoba. Facsimile of part of inscription in J. A. S. B. Vol. XLVIII, Part I, Plate XV.
14	Ajitanáth.	1220	1163	Jain statue at Mahoba, position not now known. Noticed in Arch. Report, II, 448.
15	Mau-Chatarpur.	—	—	Translated by Lieut. Price in Asiatic Researches, XII, 351.
16	Kondalpur. (?)	? 915 of Chedi era.	1164	Mentioned as existing at a temple in Kondalpur, Central Provinces, and said to be dated 815 Samvat by Sir Wm. Sleeman in J. A. S. B. for 1837. Vol. VI, (2), p. 627 note. <i>Vide supra</i> discussion of reign of Madana Varmma.
17	Mahoba.	1224	1167	Inscription at Mahoba, mentioned in list Arch. Report, II, 448, but nature of inscription and precise locality not mentioned. Original not now forthcoming.
18	Maisey's No. I.	? 1228	? 1171	J. A. S. B. XVII, (1) pp. 313-317. Gazetteer N. W. P. Vol. I, p. 15 note. Arch. Report, II, 448. Original at Kálinjar.
19	—————	1239	1182	Unpublished inscription of Prithiráj, referred to by Genl. Cunningham, Arch. Report, IX, 153, and in private letter. It records defeat of Parmál by Pirthiráj.
20	Mahoba, inscription at bungalow.	1240	1183	Abstract given in Proc. A. S. B. for 1879, p. 243. Original at Engineer's bungalow near Mahoba. Full text and translation not yet published.
21	Dahi copper plate.	1337	1280	Arch. Report, II, 455. In No. 34 of table <i>ibid.</i> p. 448, the name of the Rájá is wrongly given as Vira Varmma. Neither original nor copy forthcoming, nor translation.
22	Jayadúrگا, (? Ajegarh or Kálinjar) Inscription.	1345	1288	J. A. S. B. VI, 881, and Part III of this essay.
23	Maisey's No. II.	—	—	J. A. S. B. XVII, (1) 317-320, transcript and translation; original at Kálinjar. No date; but quoted in No. 36 of table Arch. Report II, 448 as being dated S. 1372 = A. D. 1315.

## PART III.

## THE POST-CHANDEL PERIOD (1182-1352 A. D.)

The period of Bundelkhand history between the capture of Mahoba by Rájá Prithíráj in 1182 A. D.\* and the rise of the Bundela power in the fourteenth century is extremely obscure, and has, for lack of materials, been passed over almost in silence by writers on the history and antiquities of Bundelkhand.

I cannot pretend to recover very much of the forgotten history of this period, but a minute examination of local traditions, and collation of these with the few available historical authorities remove to some extent the darkness which has hitherto enveloped the history of Bundelkhand for about a century and a half.

A curious error has been made by several writers† with regard to the date of Kutb-ud-dín Aibak's expedition into Bundelkhand, and, inasmuch as the discussion to follow requires the exact fixation of this date for a basis, I must first examine this point.

General Cunningham asserts that the Chandel Rájá Parmál was twice attacked and defeated by Kutb-ud-dín Aibak.

I propose to show that the assertion in question is based on a misconception of the meaning of Farishta, the authority cited, and that in reality but one attack was made.

General Cunningham's words are :—

“After this (*scilicet* the Chauhán victory) Parmál reigned at Kálinjar, where he was attacked by Kutb-ud-dín Aibak, to whom he capitulated in A. D. 1196.

“He was again attacked and defeated in 1202, when Aibak, dismounting his cavalry, laid siege to Kálinjar.”‡

Particulars of the siege are then given, with a reference to Briggs' Farishta, Volume I, pages 180 to 197.

I have been much surprised, on consulting that work, to find that Farishta really speaks of but one expedition by Kutb-ud-dín against Kálinjar, that, namely, which took place in A. H. 599 = A. D. 1202.

\* This date is equivalent to 1239 Samvat and has been adopted by General Cunningham on the authority of an unpublished inscription of Prithiráj in his possession. The date is given sometimes as 1183 or 1184.

† *E. g.*, besides General Cunningham, by Elphinstone (Cowell's edition, pp. 365-6) and N. W. P. Gaz. I, 527.

‡ Arch. Survey Report, II, 456. For a discussion of the correct meaning and spelling of the word Aibak, and some remarks on the date of the expedition, see Mr. Blochmann's paper in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIV, Part I, pp. 277-279.

On page 180 the words of our author are—"In the year 593 Kutb-ud-dín marched from Dehli, and reduced Nehrwala, in Guzerat, with all its dependencies. After his return, he took the fort of Kálinjar, Kálpí, and Budaon."

Farishta then proceeds with the history of Muhammad Ghorí (*alias* Shaháb-ud-dín) and an account of the early life of Kutb-ud-dín, and continues on p. 197 as follows:

"In the year 599, he mustered his forces, and marched against Kálinjar, where he was opposed by the Rájá of that country, whom he defeated; then, dismounting his cavalry, he laid siege to the fort." The details are then related as quoted by General Cunningham, and Farishta goes on to say—"Kutb-ud-dín now marched to Mahoba, the capital of the principality of Kálpí, which place he also subdued, together with Budaon, lying between the rivers Jumna and Ganges."

It is obvious that the passage on page 197 is only an amplification of that on page 180, and that both passages refer to the same events.

In the earlier passage Farishta, does not say, as he is made to say by General Cunningham, that Kutb-ud-dín reduced Kálinjar in A. H. 593 = A. D. 1196, but he says that in that year he reduced Nehrwala in Guzerat, and, '*after his return*' took Kálinjar, Kálpí, and Budáon, all the four places named being separated from each other by long distances.

Thus it is clearly proved that the supposed conquest of Mahoba, and Kálinjar by Kutb-ud-dín in 1196 A. D. never really occurred. Gwalíar, the other great fortress of Bundelkhand, was, however, attacked in that year by Kutb-ud-dín, who forced its ruler to pay tribute.\*

It may be worth noticing that Dow's mistake† in calling by the name of Gola the Rájá of Kálinjar attacked by Kutb-ud-dín, was evidently due to his confounding the Rájá, who is not named by Farishta, with Gola Rai of Ajmír,‡ who is mentioned in pages 179 and 194, 195 of Brigg's translation.

The contemporary Táj-ul Maásir correctly states the name of the Rájá of Kálinjar as Parmár in a passage which I shall quote at length, as it is of considerable historical value, and affords further proof, if proof be needed, that Kutb-ud-dín's only expedition against Kálinjar occurred in 599 H.

#### *Capture of the Fort of Kálinjar.*

"In the year 599 H. (1202 A. D.) Kutb-ud-dín proceeded to the investment of Kálinjar, on which expedition he was accompanied by the

\* Dowson's Elliot, II, 227-8.

† Quoted by General Cunningham *loc. cit.* and in Gazetteer, I, 16.

‡ For Gola Rai should be read "the Kola (natural son) of the Rai of Ajmír." (Dowson's Elliot, II, 214.) [The term *Gola* has been much misunderstood. It is most probably identical with the Rájput tribal name *Gora* or *Garuá*. The Gors of Ajmír are well known; the substitution of *l* for *r* is not uncommon in Hindí; the spelling "*kola*" is an error which has further led to the erroneous interpretation "natural son." Ed.]

Sahib-Kirán, Shams-ud-dín Altamsh. Encomiums on both warriors follow through several pages. ‘The accursed Parmár,’ the Rái of Kálinjar, fled into the fort after a desperate resistance in the field, and afterwards surrendered himself, and ‘placed the collar of subjection’ round his neck, and, on his promise of allegiance, was admitted to the same favours as his ancestor had experienced from Mahmúd Subuktigín, and engaged to make a payment of tribute and elephants, but he died a natural death before he could execute any of his engagements. His Díwán, or Mahtea, by name Aj Deo, was not disposed to surrender so easily as his master, and gave his enemies much trouble, until he was compelled to capitulate, in consequence of severe drought having dried up all the reservoirs of water in the forts. ‘On Monday, the 20th of Rajab, the garrison, in an extreme state of weakness and distraction, came out of the fort, and by compulsion left their native place empty,’ ‘and the fort of Kálinjar which was celebrated throughout the world for being as strong as the wall of Alexander’ was taken.

‘The temples were converted into mosques and abodes of goodness, and the ejaculations of the bead-counters and the voices of the summoners to prayer ascended to the highest heaven, and the very name of idolatry was annihilated.’ ‘Fifty thousand men came under the collar of slavery, and the plain became black as pitch with Hindús.’ Elephants and cattle, and countless arms also, became the spoil of the victors.

‘The reins of victory were then directed towards Mahoba, and the government of Kálinjar was conferred on Hazabbaru-d-dín Hasan Arnal. When Kutb-d-dín was satisfied with all the arrangements made in that quarter, he went towards Badáún,\* ‘which is one of the mothers of cities, and one of the chiefest of the country of Hind.’ ”

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Chand’s story that Parmál (Parmár or Paramárdi) after his defeat by Rájá Prithiráj, retired to Gayá, and died there, is refuted by the sober and authoritative statement of the Muhammadan historian.

This is but one of many proofs, which might be cited, to show that the Chand Ráesa, as we now have it, is misleading, and all but worthless for the purposes of the historian.†

According to Chand the lieutenant named Pajún, who was left behind by Rájá Prithiráj, was driven from Mahoba by Samarjit, a son of Rájá Parmál, with the help of Narsingh, an officer of Rájá Jaichand of Kanauj.

\* “Hammer (Gemald, IV, 185) following Briggs (Farishta, I, 198) places Budaon between the Ganges and the Jumna, for which there is no authority in the original. It is in Rohilkhand, to the east of the Ganges.”

† [The great Epic of Chand is hardly sufficiently known as yet, to warrant such a sweeping statement. Ed.]

Samarjit, according to the same authority, then became Rájá between Kálinjar and Gayá, and was ultimately killed by one Binae-ud-dín, a Musalmán.

It is very doubtful whether there is any foundation of fact for this circumstantial narrative, because we know for certain that Rájá Parmál continued to reign at Kálinjar till 1202 A. D. when he died and was succeeded, as we shall see further on, by Trailokya Varmma. It is, however, possible that his son Samarjit may have temporarily occupied Mahoba, and that he may have been killed by a follower of Kutb-ud-dín.

Passing over for the moment all further consideration of the names and order of succession of the Chandel descendants of Parmál, I shall proceed to discuss the history of Bundelkhand in the period succeeding his death, so far as the scanty materials available will permit.

The Kanungo family at Mahoba has preserved in writing certain traditions, which I shall now set forth as a basis for the discussion of the historical data procurable.

According to these traditions, Parmál was succeeded in the government of Mahoba by his son Samarjit.

In Samvat 1220 Shaháb-ud-dín attacked Delhi, and conquered Hindustan and wrested Mahoba from Samarjit, and granted it to Taur Súba, who ruled for fifty years. His government not being successful, the emperor granted Mahoba to his allies the Mewátis, who held the place for 40 years. Then the Gonds from Mandla attacked and plundered Mahoba and ruled there for 14 years. After this Manmath Gaharwár of Benares, a descendant of the family who ruled Mahoba, prior to the Chandels, recovered possession, and Gaharwárs ruled for 100 years.

Then Ajaipál, and Bhar and others, who were Jogis, and great magicians, one greater than the other, and were Rájás in Ujain,\* advanced from that country. Ajaipál conquered Ajmír, and Rájá Bhar captured Mahoba, and ultimately both chiefs conquered all Hindustán. They hated the Musalmáns and oppressed them and drove them out of the cities, displeasing God thereby,† whereupon the Musalmáns laid their complaints before the king of Arabia, from which country Malik Hasn Shah came with an army and in a great battle defeated Rájá Bhar, whose sovereignty devolved on the king of Arabia. Rájá Bhar's fourteen sons were slain, and their wives, wrapping themselves in their garments, were consumed without the aid of earthly fire. Malik Hasn Shah was wounded in the battle and died at Mahoba, and his shrine exists to this day in the adjoining township of Fatehpur.

\* In J. A. S. B., Part I, for 1877 p. 5, I unfortunately misread the MS. and printed "Jains and Jogís" instead of "Jogis from Ujain."

† This phrase shows that the tradition has passed through a Musalmán channel.

Then the emperor of Delhi became sovereign of the country, and made over Mahoba to the rule of the Khangárs of Garh Kurár.\* Arjun Pál Gaharwár, who had been encouraged by the goddess Deví with a promise that he should found the Bundela Ráj, entered the service of the Khangár chief, who appointed him Bakshí of his army. On an occasion when the Khangárs had gone towards Bánda to attend a wedding, Arjun Pál lay in wait for them, and, attacking, slew them all. From his time, that is to say, from the year 1400 Samvat, is dated the rise of the Bundela Ráj.

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No argument is needed to show that much of this legend is pure myth; but it can be forced to yield some grains of fact.

The tradition states wrongly the date of Shaháb-ud-dín's expedition. The attack on Mahoba and Kálinjar Kutb-ud-dín Aibak, the viceroy of Shaháb-ud-dín, really took place, as has been shown above, in A. H. 599 = 1202 A. D. = 1259 Samvat. Assuming then for a moment that the tradition, though wrong in dates, rightly gives the order of events, the time for these events is cut short at the beginning by 39 years.

I cannot find any mention elsewhere of Taur Súba, but there is no special reason to suppose that the name is an invention. The period of 50 years, assigned to his rule, is, however, undoubtedly excessive. His successors are said to have been Mewátís, and I should be inclined to date their arrival at some time in the first half of the 13th century, for during that period they are frequently mentioned as engaged in conflicts with the kings of Dehli, and they may well have succeeded in obtaining for a short time the governorship of Mahoba.

Násir-ud-dín temporarily reduced the Mewátís in the years 1247-50 A. D.

The mosque known as the Mughal mosque, which stands on the east end of the fort hill at Mahoba, and is built of the materials of a richly adorned Jain temple, was erected, it is said, by the Mewátís.

That the Gonds did really attack Mahoba at some time after the defeat of the Chandels is rendered probable by the existence of a few village traditions which refer to a post-Chandel occupation by Gonds.

The story that the Gonds were succeeded by Manmath of the Gaharwár dynasty is not corroborated from any other source, and the period of a hundred years assigned by the legend to this Gaharwár dynasty is of course impossible. I therefore reject altogether this part of the legend.

\* Garh Kurár is in the Orchha State some 17 miles from Jhánsí. The origin of the Khangárs is not known. They were probably a branch of one of the wild tribes such as Gonds, Kols, or Bhíls. A friend suggests to me that the word Khangár may simply mean 'swordsman,' and be derived from Sanskrit खड्ग a sword.

The legend about Ajaipál and Bhar is very curious, and has some solid foundation, for there is sufficient independent evidence (as will presently be shown) to prove beyond doubt that a Bhar Ráj did at one time exist at Mahoba.

The statement that Ajaipál and Bhar conquered all Hindustán must of course be regarded as a gross exaggeration, but even this statement is not altogether baseless.

I shall now proceed to examine in some detail the evidence which proves the former existence of Bhar chiefs at Mahoba and in the neighbourhood of, or at, Kálinjar.

The Kánungo family of Mahoba possess a copy of a *sanad*, which copy is attested by the signature of the Assistant Superintendent of Jalaun under date 17th December 1850.

The document from which the copy was taken, was, it is said, on paper and was lodged in court soon after the annexation of the Mahoba pargana in 1840, and was no doubt, along with the rest of the records, destroyed in the mutiny.

The language of the existing copy is modern Hindí, and for this reason, and also because the document destroyed in the mutiny was written on paper, it is certain that that document was not in itself an original, for a *sanad* dated 1337 Samvat would have been written on copper, and would almost certainly have been in the Sanskrit language. I see, however, no reason to suppose that the existing copy represents a forgery; I believe that it is a copy of a translation of a genuine grant, the original of which was lost long ago.

The document is to the following effect;—“On behalf of Srí Maharáj Adhiráj, Srí Maharája Srí Rájá Kírat Singh Jú Bhar the grant is made for subsistence to Srí Kanungo Chaudhrí Mádhó Rám, Mansabdár, Faujdár, who exercises the functions; he is granted the villages Tíká Mau and Bíjanagar and Kaproera,\* and 2 per cent. and a present of Rs. 2 for each village, and 9 *dáms* for each village at the *chabútra*, and in the city the customary dues, and in the town 350 bighas; let no one interfere, and let them be loyal.

Monday 9 Mágh Sudi,  
Samvat 1337,  
At Kálpí.”

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\* These villages are all within a few miles of Mahoba, but the third is now in Native Territory.



In the absence of the original it is impossible to pronounce with certainty on the authenticity of this grant, but there is at least no doubt as to the genuineness of the copy now in the Kanungo's possession, and the family still hold revenue free part of the '350 bighas in the town,' and they say that under the various native rulers they enjoyed the transit and other dues referred to in the grant.

The note 'at Kálpí' is explained by the consideration that Kálpí and Mohaba were generally included in a single district. In Kutb-ud-dín's time Mahoba was "the capital of the principality of Kálpí."

If then this Kánungo's *sanad* be authentic, one date (*viz.*, 1337 S. = 1280 A. D.) in the period of the Bhar rule at Mahoba is fixed decisively, and we also learn that the Bhar dominions included Kálpí.

These dominions, as we shall see, also included Kálinjar, and I am disposed to identify the Kírat Jú Bhar of the Kanungo's *sanad* with the Rájá Kírat Pál of Kálinjar who is mentioned in a Mahoba tradition obtained from a different source.

This tradition is recorded in a long undated Persian manuscript belonging to the guardian of the shrine of Pír Mobárik Sháh at Mahoba, which gives an account of the foundation of that shrine in the year 1309 Samvat, in which year it is related that Rájá Kírat Pál of Kálinjar visited the shrine and endowed it with 700 bighas of land revenue free. This land is still held revenue free by the guardian of the shrine.\*

The historical value of this tradition is much impaired by the fact that the manuscript gives four inconsistent notes of time.

It records that ( $\alpha$ ) the shrine was founded by Pír Mobárik Sháh, a disciple of Rájú who was a disciple of Jahána Jahángasht; ( $\beta$ ) in the Samvat year 1309; ( $\gamma$ ) during the reign of Sultán Ibráhím Sharkí; and, further, ( $\delta$ ) that, after the time of Rájá Kírat Pál of Kálinjar, the shrine was visited by Tughlak Sháh and Prince Daryá Khán and others.

Now, ( $\alpha$ ) Rájú son of Sayyad Jalál Makhdúm Jahániya, erected his father's tomb at Kanauj in A. H. 881 = A. D. 1476†; ( $\beta$ ) Samvat 1309 = A. D. 1252; ( $\gamma$ ) Sultán Ibráhím Shákí reigned 1401-1440 A. D. and ( $\delta$ ) the date of Ghiyás-ud-dín Tughlak's mosque at Mahoba is A. D. 1322, and Daryá Khán was killed in A. D. 1387.

Supposing there to be any truth in the narrative at all, I accept the date 1252 A. D. as being in itself much more probable than any one of the other inconsistent dates which might be assumed by calculation from the data given above.

\* The exact area as recently surveyed is 637 bighas, 14 biswas. Fuller details of the Mobárik Sháh legend will be found in the Hamirpur Settlement Report, Allahabad, 1880, p. 29.

† Cunningham, Arch. Report, I, 289.

We may be quite certain that the massive temple, on the site and with the materials of which the shrine of Pír Mobárik Sháh is constructed, was not allowed to remain until the middle or end of the 15th century A. D.

Assuming then that the date 1309 S. = 1252 A. D. is correct, it is difficult to avoid identifying this Rájá Kírat Pál with the Rájá Kírat Singh of the *sanad*. The one reign may easily have embraced the dates 1252 and 1280 A. D. As we shall see presently, Kírat Pál of Kálinjar, if he really flourished in the year 1280 A. D. cannot have been a Chandel prince, for the Chandel Rájá in that year was Sandhira Varmma.

In another paper I have already mentioned\* that the local tradition of Mauza Bharwára, (which village is situated about 21 miles W. N. W. of Mahoba), ascribes the foundation of that village to Lodhís in the year 1300 S. = 1243 A. D. during the reign of Rájá Bhar of Mahoba.

The neighbouring village of Bijaipur is likewise believed to have been founded by Lodhis during the time of the Bhar Ráj. It was then seized for a time by the Chhindi or Chheri Bherí Thákurs (who are remembered in many villages in the neighbourhood, and are by some identified with the Bhars), and was recovered by the Lodhís under the leadership of Amán Balí in 1400 S. = 1343 A. D.

The people of Bhateora Kalán, in the same part of the country, have a tradition that the original Lodhí inhabitants of their village were destroyed by the Chherí Bherí Thákurs, with the exception of one woman with child, who escaped. Her son Amán Bálí on reaching man's estate slew the Chherí Bherí Thákurs, while they were intoxicated at a festival, and cast their bodies into a well.† His son founded twelve and a half villages, including Bharwára and Bijaipur. The dates given in these traditions are evidently round numbers, and there can be no doubt that in reality the colonization of the twelve and a half villages must have occupied a considerable time. Tradition always foreshortens, so to speak, the picture of the past. The above quoted traditions may I think be regarded as harmonizing with each other as closely as it is reasonable to expect.

The Muhammadan historians afford another clue to the date of the Bhar chiefs of Kálinjar and Mahoba.

Farishta (Briggs, I, 237) relates that: "In the month of Shaban 645, Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd proceeded with his troops through the country which lies between the rivers Ganges and Jumna, and after an obstinate siege, the fort of Bitunda‡ yielded to his arms. He then continued his

\* J. A. S. B., Part I, for 1877, page 5.

† Similar traditions as to the destruction of Ahírs, Khangárs and other tribes by Lodhí or Thákur invaders are not uncommon in Bundelkhand.

‡ The reading of this name is doubtful.

march towards Kurra, Ghiás-ud-dín Balban commanding the vanguard. He was met at Karra by the Rájás Dalaki and Malaki, whom he defeated and plundered, taking many of their families prisoners. These two Rájás had seized all the country to the south of the Jumna, and had destroyed the king's garrisons from Malwa to Karra. They resided at Kálinjar. After these exploits Násir-ud-dín returned to Delhi."

Shaban A. D. 645 = Dec. 1247 A. D. the attack on "Dalaki and Malaki," therefore took place in 1248 A. D.

Col. Briggs was of opinion (*note*) that "the Muhammadan author from whom Farishta copies, has, probably, made some mistake in the names," but the names can now be shown to be substantially correct.

It is related by Minháj-us-Siráj in the *Tabakát-i-Násirí*, that in 645 H. (*i. e.*, early in 1248 A. D.) the imperial army under Ulúgh Khán, marched to Karrá, and "there was in this neighbourhood a Rána (ران بود) who was called Dalaki-wa-Malaki. He had many dependants, countless fighting men, great dominions and wealth, fortified places, and hills and defiles extremely difficult of access. All these he (Ulúgh Khán) ravaged.

"He took prisoners the sons, wives, and dependants of the accursed one, and secured great booty. He secured 1,500 horses of a peculiar breed, which he brought in for the use of the army. His other booty may be inferred from this."\*

Minháj-us-Siráj gives another account further on in his book of the expedition against Dalaki-wa-Malakí, which is worth quoting, because it contains some interesting details not given in the earlier passage of the *Tabakát-i-Násirí*, nor by Farishta.

"Ulúgh Khán was sent with some other generals and a Muhammadan force to oppose Dalakí-wa-Malakí.

"This was a Rána in the vicinity of the Jumna, between Kálinjar and Karrá, over whom the Ráis of Kálinjar and Málwa had no authority. He had numerous followers and ample wealth; he ruled wisely; his fortresses were strong and secure; in his territories the defiles were arduous, the mountains rugged, and the jungles many. No Muhammadan army had ever penetrated to his dwelling place.

"When Ulúgh Khán reached his abode, the Rána took such care for the safety of himself and his family, that he kept quiet from the dawn till the time of evening prayer, and when it grew dark he fled to some more secure place.

"At daybreak, the Muhammadan army entered his abode and then pursued him, but the accursed infidel had escaped into the lofty mountains, to an inaccessible spot, impossible to reach except by stratagem and the use of ropes and ladders. Ulúgh Khán incited his soldiers to the attempt,

\* Dowson's Elliot, II, 348.

and under his able direction, they succeeded in taking the place. All the infidel's wives, dependants and children fell into the hands of the victors with much cattle, many horses and slaves. Indeed the spoil that was secured exceeded all computation.

At the beginning of Shawwál 645 H. (Feb. 1248), the force returned to the royal camp with their booty.”\*

It would appear from this passage that Farishta is in error when he asserts that Dalaki-wa-Malakí resided at Kálinjar. His abode was between Kálinjar and Karra, and no Muhammadan army had ever penetrated to it, a description which by no means applied to Kálinjar, which had been visited both by Mahmúd and Kutb-ud-dín. The contemporary author further is careful to point out that the Rána Dalaki-wa-Malakí was distinct from the Rái of Kálinjar, who had no authority over him.

At first sight no connection is perceptible between the Rájá Dalaki-wa-Malakí and the Bhar chiefs of Kálinjar and Mahoba, but the argument developed in the following extract raises at the least a strong probability that they are identical.

“The Bhars up to a late period, occupied and owned considerable portions of Etá, Cawnpore, Fatehpur, and Allahabad. . . . .tradition points them out as the rulers of the middle and lower Doáb at an early period. Mr. Benett in a note† on the Bhar kings of Eastern Oudh, quotes the local traditions regarding Bal and Dal, the great Bhar heroes of that province, whose names appear in the legends of 1000 to 1400 A. D.

“Again the ancestors of the great Kánhpuriya clan of Rájputs, Sahas and Rahas, are said to have completed the conquest of the western half of the Partábgarh district in Oudh, by inflicting a decisive defeat on the Bhars, whose leaders Biloki and Tiloki were left dead on the battle field.

“The Bais also have a tradition that the founder of the house of Dúndia Khera defeated the Bhar leaders Dal and Bal,‡ on the banks of the Ganges in the Rái Bareli district; and another tradition has it that the Bhars were destroyed by Ibráhím Sháh Sharkí [who reigned 1401-1440 A. D.] at Dalamau on the Ganges, a place where Ahírs yearly congregate and offer up milk to the *manes* of Dal and Bal at their reputed tomb.

“Mr. Benett has elsewhere shown that the Kánhpuriya leaders, Sahas

\* Dowson's Elliot, II, 366-7.

In Nov. 1251 A. D. Ulúgh Khán again marched “towards Málwa and Kálinjar.” Ibid. p. 368.

† Indian Ant. I, 265. See also the same writer's Report on the Chief Clans of Roy Bareilly, pp. 5, 17, 18.

‡ The names are given as Tiloki and Biloki by Mr. Benett (Clans of Roy Bareilly, 17) who says that the Bhar chiefs were left dead on the battle field, and that their names are preserved in the neighbouring villages of Tiloi and Biloi.

and Rahas, were contemporaries of Abhaichand, and lived in the thirteenth century.”

The compiler of the Gazetteer then quotes the passage from Farishta, and the first extract from Minháj-us-Siráj, which I have given above, and proceeds with his argument as follows :

“ From the similarity of names there can be no doubt but that the Dalaki-wa-Malakí of the Musalmán historians, the Tiloki and Biloki of the Kánhpuriyas, and the Dal and Bal of the Bais, refer to the Bhar princes of the Duáb, and west bank of the Jumna, who flourished about the middle of the thirteenth century.”

After full consideration of the evidence I think that this identification must be accepted. The actual date of the great chief Dalaki-wa-Malakí (*alias* Dal and Bal, *alias* Tiloki and Biloki) is fixed by the Muhammadan historian, and the mention of the name in traditions referring to events of earlier or later date is easily explained when we remember the facility with which tradition in all countries associates the most diverse events with the names of popular idols.

It is not certain whether the name Dalaki-wa-Malakí and its equivalents are singular or plural. The Muhammadan historians use it as singular,\* but the Rájput traditions affix the names to two brothers. I incline to accept the authority of the historian, and would suggest that the belief in the existence of the brothers has been caused by the circumstance that the name of the Rájá (whatever may have been its correct form) could be readily split up into two parts.

In a passage which just precedes my second extract from the Tabakát-i-Násirí the author notices that Ulúgh Khán, not only captured, but killed Dalaki-wa-Malakí (قتل و اسر دلکي و ملكي).

The reader will perceive that the date thus obtained for the Bhar prince killed in 1248 A. D. in no wise interferes with our acceptance of the Mahoba dates 1252 and 1280 A. D. for Kírat Singh or Kírat Pál, who would appear to have been his immediate successor.

The detailed information given by the historians regarding Dalaki-wa-Malakí further prevents us from condemning as altogether incredible some of the traditional statements about Rájá Bhar of Mahoba. A chief, who in sober fact, had seized all the country to the south of the Jumna, and had destroyed the king's garrisons from Málwa to Karra, who ruled wisely, and who possessed the vast and peculiar wealth described by the historians, may well have been credited with having won the dominion of all Hindustán by magic arts. It is not even impossible that he may have come from Ujain in Málwa, as the legend affirms that he did. The movement of the

\* Professor Dowson (II. 348 note) shows that in Farishta the name is singular, Briggs' translation being incorrect.

Bhars, so far as traced, has certainly been from west to east, and it may well be that the unknown origin of the tribe is to be sought in the hills and forests of Central India.

The Bhar chief having attained so great a power in 1247-48 A. D., it is evident that such power cannot have been gained in a day, and we may safely say that 1240 A. D. is the latest date that can be assigned for the rise of the Bhar rule in Bundelkhand. The Chandel power was shattered, first by Prithiráj in 1182 A. D. and again, and more completely, twenty years later by Kutb-ud-dín in 1202 F.; the dynasty that had so long ruled over Chedi or Dáhal along the banks of the Narbada seems to have died out in the latter part of the twelfth century, and the Parihár kingdom of Gwáliar was overthrown by Altamsh in 1232 A. D. The country therefore was open to an attack, and I would place the incursion of the Bhars at a date not earlier than 1230 nor later than 1240.

The actual attack on Bundelkhand may have been, and probably was, directed from stations in the Doáb or Oudh, but, even admitting this, it may still be true that the Bhars came originally from Central India, and even that their great chief Dalaki-wa-Malakí came from that direction. However, I am not aware of any mention of the existence of Bhars to the south of the present Hamírpur District and of the line of the Kaimúr hills further to the east.

To return to our Mahoba Kánungo's tradition. Supposing that it correctly recites the *order* of events (excepting the episode of Manmath Gaharwár), then the rule of Taur Súba, that of the Mewátis, and that of the Gonds, must all be comprised between the years 1202 A. D., the date of Kutb-ud-dín's attack, and the year 1240, the latest possible date for the Bhar inroad.

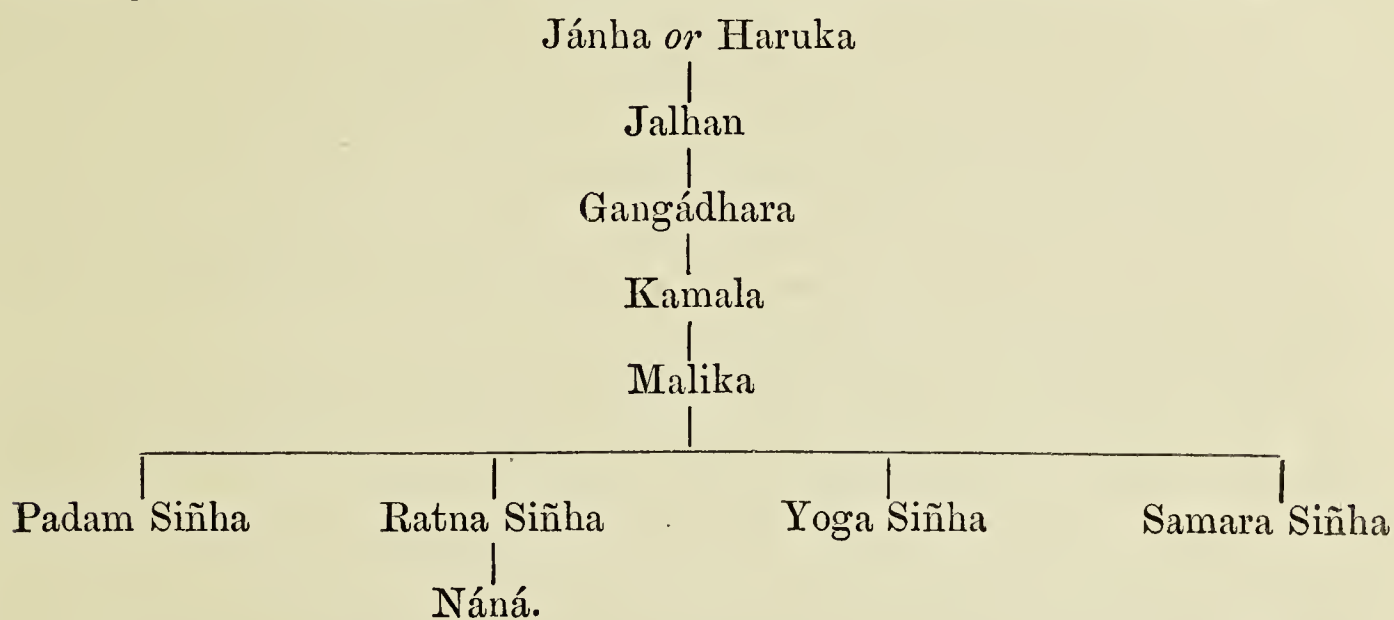
The compiler of the Gazetteer (*loc. cit.*) attempts another identification of Dalaki-wa-Malakí which requires some discussion.

A long inscription dated 1345 Samvat = 1288 A. D. and relating to a statue of Hari set up by one Náná in a place called Jayadúrga is preserved in the museum of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta.

This inscription, in the North-West Provinces Gazetteer (I, pp. 16 and 453,) is said to have been 'found in the fort of Ajaigarh,' but it is not really certain where it was found. Jas. Prinsep "conjectures that it is one of those presented by General Stewart from Ajaigarh.....or Kálinjar,"\* and it is as likely to have come from one place as the other, if it came from either, for the two fortresses are only about 16 miles apart.

\* J. A. S. B. VI. 881. In the translation the name of the town is given as Jayanagore, but in the Sanskrit transcript it is Jayadúrga. I shall call it the 'Jayadúrga inscription.'

Náná is described as belonging to the Káyath caste, and his descent is traced for seven generations back, his family being derived ultimately from the great Rishi Kasyapa. The residence of this family was at the famous city of Kausambi or Kosim on the Jumna, not many miles above Allahabad. Náná is praised in the following terms (vv. 24, 25). “His fame had reached the ears of the women on all sides; he was minister of the Chandrátraya kings (नरेन्द्राणाम्). He was known by the name of Náná, teacher of the religious laws and wisdom to the above dynasties, he was learned and agreeable, requiring not the advice of allies when he sent his horse to the Rájá Bhoja Varmma.” The genealogy of Náná is as follows:—



The compiler of the Gazetteer without hesitation identifies the Malkí of Farishta with the Malika of the inscription, and goes on to say—“On attaining the royal power, the Bhars were advanced to the dignity of Káyaths, and this fact is curiously borne out by inscriptions preserved in the old fort of Garhwa near Shiurájpur in the Allahabad District.\*

“In addition to inscriptions of the Gupta princes of the second century, there are several others bearing date 1199 Samvat (1142 A. D.) recording gifts made by the Káyath Thákurs of the neighbouring villages, and several statues, three of which are dedicated to the Hindu triad. Along with these is one of the well known bearded Bhar figures, which in appearance and workmanship is of older date than the statues of Vishnu, Shiva and Brahma, and is connected with a local Bhar dynasty by tradition.

“Both the fort of Garhwa and the other old forts in the neighbourhood well fulfil the description of the Musalmán historian [*scilicet* of Dalaki-wa-Malaki’s fortress], hidden as they are among the outlying spurs of the Kaimor range, and it is worthy of remark that the principal village near Garhwa still bears the name of Bhargarh.”

\* Garhwa is 25 miles S. W. of Allahabad.

The argument here stated is to me quite unintelligible, and I am unable to trace any connection between the conclusion and the premises. What proof is there of the startling assertion that the Bhars, on attaining royal power, were advanced to the dignity of Káyaths, and how is this fact, if fact it be, curiously borne out by inscriptions preserved in the old fort of Garhwa?

The only answer given in the Gazetteer to these questions is the statement that there are at Garhwa statues dedicated by Káyath Thákurs in 1142 A. D., and that there is at the same place a Bhar statue, apparently older, and connected with traditions of a local Bhar dynasty.

But it was already well known that a Bhar dynasty once ruled over the eastern Doáb, and the mere fact that a Bhar statue was found among ruins along with statues of a different date dedicated by Káyaths is no evidence of the identity of Káyaths and Bhars.

Unless then there exists other evidence of their identity at Garhwa or elsewhere, it is plain that the Garhwa inscriptions and sculptures give no reason for believing in such identity.

The identification of the Káyath Malika of the Jayadúrga inscription with the Bhar chief Dalaki-wa-Malaki is moreover inconsistent with the evidence of the other documents discussed in this paper, as well as with the testimony of the inscription in question, which records that Náná Káyath, grandson of Malika, was a servant of the Chandel prince. We have learned from the Tabakát-i-Násiri that Dalaki-wa-Malaki, so far from being a servant of the Chandels, lived in an inaccessible fortress, and that the Rai of Kálinjar had no authority over him. By the "Rai of Kálinjar" no other can be meant than the reigning chief of the Chandel house.

A brief discussion of the few known facts concerning the successors of Parmál on the Chandel throne will facilitate the comprehension of the mediæval history of Bundelkhand.

It has been shown above that the Mahoba tradition concerning the retirement and death of Parmál is absolutely untrue, and that the statement of the same tradition that he was succeeded in Mahoba by his son Samarjit is probably erroneous.

The only substantial evidence regarding the names and regnal order of Parmál's immediate successors is that of the Dahi inscribed copper-plate, formerly in the possession of Colonel Ellis, who was at one time Political Agent at Nagod.

Unluckily this inscription is not now forthcoming, and no good copy of it seems to exist. The original was probably destroyed in the mutiny with the rest of Col. Ellis' property. The inscription is known only from General Cunningham's imperfect account of it, which is as follows:



“In a copper-plate inscription obtained by Col. Ellis, which is dated in S. 1337 or 1280, the genealogy was read by his Pandit as follows:—

1. Kundo Barm Deo.
2. Parmara Dea.
3. Trilok Barm Deo.
4. Sandin Barm Deo.

From an imperfect impression, which I saw in 1848, I read these names as—

1. Yádava Varmma Deva.
2. Paramárdi Deva.
3. Srí Trailokya Varmma Deva.
4. Srí Sandhira Varmma Deva.\*

I am now, however, inclined to think that the first name must be *Madana Varmma Deva*, but as I cannot refer to the original, I must leave this point doubtful.”†

It is I think quite impossible to doubt that the first name really was *Madana Varmma Deva*, but we are at present concerned with the third and fourth names, the readings of which by General Cunningham and the Pandit substantially agree; there being no doubt that the second name was that of *Paramárdi*, popularly known as *Parmál* or *Parmár*.

The inscription then proves that *Parmál* was succeeded by *Trailokya Varmma Deva*, and, as we know that *Parmál* died at Kalinjar in 1202 A. D., *Trailokya*, who was probably his son, must have come to the throne in that year. *Trailokya*'s successor *Sandhira Varmma Deva* was reigning in 1280 A. D., seventy-eight years after the accession of his immediate predecessor. It is very unusual to find so long a period covered by two reigns. It is probable that the long interval was distributed pretty evenly between the two reigns, and we may assume that the inscription is dated towards the close of *Sandhira Varmma*'s reign, the termination of which may provisionally be dated in the year of the inscription 1280. The date of *Bhoja Varmma* 1288 A. D. in the *Jayadúrga* inscription shows that *Sandhira Varmma*'s reign cannot have extended much beyond 1280 A. D.

General Cunningham was inclined to prolong *Trailokya Varmma*'s reign till 1248 A. D., and to identify him with *Dalaki-wa-Malaki*, but it is needless to discuss that theory which is amply refuted by the previous discussions in this paper.

I am disposed to assign the larger part of the interval between 1202 and 1280 to the reign of *Sandhira Varmma*, on the ground that *Parmál*

\* In the chronological table in Arch. Report, II, 448 the name *Vira Varmma* is by mistake printed, in lieu of *Sandhira*, as resting on the authority of the *Dahi* plate.

† Arch. Report, II, 455.

had a long reign (from about 1165 to 1202) and that it is probable that his son, when succeeding to the throne, must have been tolerably far advanced in years.

The supposition is allowable that the reign of Trailokya Varmma Deva ended in 1234 A. D., when Malik Nusratu-dín-Tábasí marched "against Kálinjar and Jamú." It is related that "the army marched on fifty days from Gwáliar, and great booty fell into its hands, so much that the imperial fifth amounted to nearly twenty-two lacs. When they returned from Kálinjar, they were encountered by this Rája of Ijári, who seized upon the defiles on the river Sindí in the road of the returning army."\*

On this supposition Sandhira Varmma would have reigned from 1234 to about 1280 A. D., and he would have occupied the throne at Kálinjar, when Dalaki-wa-Malaki was defeated by Ulúgh Khán in 1248 A. D. Kálinjar does not seem to have been attacked by Ulúgh Khán in that year, nor in 1251, when it is only recorded that Ulúgh Khán marched "towards Kálinjar," and defeated Jáhir of Ijári (*i. e.* Cháhada Deva of Narwar).

It will be observed that the date 1337 S. = 1280 A. D. of the inscription of Sandhira Varmma Chandel is exactly the same as the date of the Kanungo's *sanad* which purports to be granted by Rájá Kírat Singh Jú Bhar. If the latter document be authentic, the Bhar was then in possession of Kálpí and Mahoba, and the Chandel prince's dominions cannot have extended far from the walls of Kálinjar.

If the legend which places Kírat Pal Rájá of Kálinjar in 1252 be correct, then Sandhira Varmma would appear to have been for a while expelled even from Kálinjar.

The power of the Chandel house must have been greatly weakened by the severe defeats in 1182 and 1202, but the ancient dynasty seems to have in general kept hold of Kálinjar and to have at times recovered Mahoba. The famous princess Dúrgavatí, who married Rájá Dalpat Sá of Garha Mandla in about the year 1545 A. D. and was killed in battle in 1564, is recorded to have been the daughter of the Chandel Rájá of Mahoba. This Rájá is probably to be identified with Kírat Rai the Rájá of Kálinjar who was killed when Sher Sháh besieged his fort in 1545.

The victories of the Musalmán emperors and of their generals in no wise interfered with the succession of the local Rájás, who were simply forced from time to time to pay tribute and acknowledge the suzerainty of the Delhi crown.

\* Tabakát-i-Násiri in Dowson's Elliot, II, 368. The mention of Jamú in this account is puzzling and would suggest that the Kálinjar meant is the fort on the borders of Kashmir; but, as the Rája of Ijári is identified with Cháhada Deva of Narwar, and the Sindí river is described as being on the road of the returning army, the Bundelkhand fort must apparently be meant; Jamú I do not understand.

Sandhira Varmma was probably immediately succeeded by Bhoja Varmma, but we know nothing of the names of the Chandel Rájás of Kálinjar between the time of Bhoja Varmma 1288 A. D. and that of Kírat Rai 1545 A. D., except that a person named Vira Varmma is mentioned in verse 22 of the much injured Kálinjar No. 2 inscription published by Maisay,\* and he may have been a Chandel Rájá. This inscription appears to be undated, and I do not know why General Cunningham (Arch. Rep. II 448, Table) gives 1372 Samvat = 1315 A. D. as its date.

Let us now return to the examination of the Mahoba tradition.

The Bhar Rájá, according to the tradition, was destroyed by a Musalmán attack, led by a saint named Malik Hasn Sháh, who had been sent by the king of Arabia. The story about the appeal of the oppressed Muhammadans to the Arabian prince may of course be dismissed as pure myth, but the saint appears to have been a solid fact, for his tomb and shrine exist to this day, and the guardians of the buildings say that they once possessed a quantity of ancient documents relating to the shrine and to Rájá Bhar, which have now unfortunately all disappeared.

I see no reason to doubt that the Bhar Ráj at Mahoba was actually destroyed by a Muhammadan attack, in which the holy saint Malik Hasn Sháh was the leading spirit.

The date of the Bhar chief's rise to power in Bundelkhand has been fixed approximately in the year 1240 A. D., and, although the Bhars suffered a severe defeat near Karra in 1248, they do not seem to have been finally crushed, and they probably retained a hold on Bundelkhand for many years.

I am disposed to think that Malik Hasn Sháh's raid was connected with Alá-ud-din's invasion of Málwa in the year 1293 A. D., respecting which Ferishta writes—"In the year 692, the king [Jalál-ud-dín] marched against the Hindus in the neighbourhood of Mando and, having dévastated the country in that vicinity, returned to Dehli. In the meantime, Malik Alá-ud-dín, the king's nephew, governor of Karra, requested permission to attack the Hindus of Bhilsa, who infested his province. Having obtained leave, he marched in the same year to that place, which he subdued and, having pillaged the country, returned with much spoil, part of which was sent to the king."†

The direct road from Karra to Bhilsa, if it did not pass through Mahoba, must certainly have passed near that place, and it is probable that Mahoba was then included in the "infested" province of Karra, as it certainly was during the reign of Fírúz Tughlak in the middle of the following century.

\* J. A. S. B. Vol. XVII, Part I, p. 319.

† Cf. C. Briggs' Ferishta, I, 303.

It is just possible that the Muhammadan attack on Mahoba may have taken place in 1295, the year that Alá-ud-dín returned to Karra from his daring expedition to the Dakhin, conducting his retreat “through extensive and powerful kingdoms; *viz.*, Málwa, Gondwára, and Kandeish;” but travelling thus, it is not likely that any part of his force would have come so far east as Mahoba.

The possible dates for the successful Musalmán attack on the Bhar leader are narrowly limited, on the one hand, by the date 1280 A. D. for Kírat Singh Bhar, and, on the other, by the date 1322 A. D. of Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak’s mosque at Mahoba, which is constructed of the materials of a Hindu or Jain temple and could not have been erected during the reign of a ruler hostile to Islám, as tradition affirms the Bhar chieftain to have been.

On the whole, the assumption of the date 1293 A. D. as that of the extinction of the Bhar Ráj at Mahoba, best accords with all the known facts. I therefore believe that the rule of the Bhars at Mahoba lasted from about 1240 A. D. till 1293 A. D.

Then, says the Mahoba tradition, the emperor of Dehli became sovereign of the country, and made over Mahoba to the Khangár rulers of Garh Kurár.

The emperor referred to I believe to be Alá-ud-dín, who ascended the throne in 1295, and whose general Ain-ul-Mulk Multání reduced Málwa in 1304. \*Alá-ud-dín, when holding Karrá and Málwa, must have had control over the intervening territories of Mahoba and Garh Kurár.

I therefore conjecture that the Khangárs assumed charge of Mahoba not later than the year 1305 A. D., but they may have assumed charge in 1293 or 1295. The exact duration of their rule is not certainly known, but the Mahoba tradition affirms that it was ended by the treachery of Arjun Pál Gaharwár in the year 1400 S. = 1343 A. D.

This date has probably been remembered as a round number only, and may not be quite accurate, but I believe it to be approximately correct.

All accounts agree in tracing the Bundela genealogy back to a Gaharwár ancestor, although different traditions vary much as to the name of that ancestor and in other particulars.

By reckoning back the Bundela generations from a known date we can obtain an approximate date for the expulsion of the Khangárs by which to test the Mahoba traditional date.

The great Bundela chief, Rájá Chhatarsál, died in the winter of 1731 A. D.,† and he was (including Rudra Partáp) either the sixth or the seventh

\* Briggs’ *Ferishta*, I, 361.

† Captain Maitland, Political Agent at Charkhári, informs me that the exact date of Chhatarsál’s death was Pús Badi 3 Samvat, 1788.

in descent from Rudra Partáp of Orchha,\* and, according to two genealogies eight generations intervened between Sahanpál and Rudra Partáp, Sahanpál being named in some traditions as the destroyer of the Khangárs, in lieu of Arjun Pál.† We thus find either 15 or 16 generations from the death of Chhatarsál to the accession of Sahanpál, and, if a generation be taken as averaging either 20 or 25 years, the following limiting dates are obtained:—

<i>A. D.</i>	
$15 \times 20 = 300.$	$(1731 - 300) = 1431.$
$15 \times 25 = 375.$	$(1731 - 375) = 1356.$
$16 \times 20 = 320.$	$(1731 - 320) = 1411.$
$16 \times 25 = 400.$	$(1731 - 400) = 1331.$

The required date is thus fixed as lying between 1331 and 1431, and most probably lies between 1330 and 1340, a result which well accords with the Mahoba tradition.

I therefore conclude that Mahoba was governed, as a dependency, by the Khangárs of Garh Kurár, subject to the lordship of the emperor of Dehli, from about 1300 to about 1340 A. D.

It is not known whether the early Bundela (Gaharwár) successors of Sahanpál exercised any authority over Mahoba or not, but it is probable that they did not, for, in or about 1337 A. D., Mahoba, with Karra and Dalamau, was in charge of Malik-us-Shah Mardán Daulat, who received the title of Nasír-ul-Mulk.

The process by which Gaharwárs became Bundelas is not clearly known, and in the genealogies the new clan name is accounted for by foolish myths.

The Bundelas are admitted to be of impure Rájput descent, and I think it most probable that they are the offspring of a marriage between the daughter of the Khangár Rájá of Garh Kurár and the Gaharwár adventurer who supplanted him.

The fact of such a marriage seems to be indicated by the story given in the *Hadíkatu-l-Akálím*,‡ and in the variant of that story which I heard from Munshí Gya Dín Tahsildar, a member of a Kanúngo family long settled in Bundelkhand.

\* According to the *Gazetteer s. v.* Orchha, that town was founded by Rudra Partáp or his son in 1531 A. D. One of my genealogies gives the date as 1511 A. D., and the same M. S. dates the expulsion of the Khangárs by Sahanpál in 1313 S. = 1265 A. D., which date is too early. In Chhatarsál's pedigree some genealogies insert the name of Kulnandan between Bhagwant and Champat Rai, and some omit it.

† One genealogy makes Sahanpál to be the son of Arjun Pál, another states that they were brothers, the former ruling at Kurár, and the latter at Mahauní.

‡ Quoted in Beames' *Elliot*, I, 45.

In his version of the story Pancham Singh is the Gaharwár hero, and becomes servant of the Khangár Rájá Kundarra, who takes him into favour, but ultimately insults him by asking for his own son the hand of the Rájput's daughter. Pancham pretends to consent to the union, but with the help of two Dhundhera Thákurs, named Punya Pál and Dhundpál, he concerta a plot to murder the Rájá while the latter is intoxicated at a festival.

The plot is executed, and Sánpál son of Pancham is installed as Rájá.

The different versions of the story vary so much that no belief can be given to the details of any, but the matrimonial alliance between the Gaharwár and the Khangár is in itself a highly probable incident for those times, and readily explains the low position among Rájputs occupied by the Bundelas.

I cannot suggest any rational derivation of the word Bundela, which is certainly not derived from *bandi* a slave-girl, as Sir H. Elliot was willing to believe.

The following chronological table summarizes the conclusions at which I have arrived concerning the outlines of the history of Mahoba and some other parts of Bundelkhand during the period between the defeat of the Chandels in 1182 A. D. and the rise of the Bundelas.

*Chronological Table 1182—1352.*

Event.	Date.		Reference.
	Hijri or Samvat.	Date.	
Defeat of Parmál by Prithiraj, . . . . .	1239 S.	1182	Unpublished inscription of Prithiráj. (Cunn.)
Capture of Kálinjar, Kálpí and of Mahoba "capital of the principality of Kálpí," by Kutb-uddín Aibak, . . . . .	} 599 H.	{ 1202	Farishta and Táj-ul-Maásir.
Death at Kálinjar of Rájá Parmál Chandel, . . . . .			
Accession at Kálinjar of Rájá Trailokya Varmma Chandel, . . . . .	....	....	Dahi copper-plate.
Mahoba held successively by Taur Súba, the Mewátís and the Gonds. . . . .	} ....	{ circa 1203 to 1239	Mahoba tradition.
Capture of Gwáliar and defeat of Parihár Rájá by Altamish, . . . . .			
Accession at Kálinjar of Sandhira Varmma Chandel, . . . . .	} 1291 S.	{ circa 1234	Conjecture and Dahi copper-plate.
Defeat of Chahada Deva of Narwar, . . . . .			

*Chronological Table 1182—1352—Continued.*

Event.	Date.		Reference.
	Hijri or Samvat.	Date.	
Occupation of Mahoba by a Bhar chief, ..	....	{ circa 1240	Tradition and conjecture.
Occupation of Mauza Bharwára in Panwári by Lodhis during reign of Rája Bhar of Mahoba, .....	1300 S.	1243	Local tradition.
Occupation of villages on bank of Dasán river by Parihárs from Gwáliar, .....	1303 S.	1246	Local tradition.
Kírat Pál Rája at Kálinjar, .....	1309 S.	1252	Mahoba tradition.
Foundation of shrine of Pír Mobárik Sháh at Mahoba, .....	....	....	Ditto.
Defeat of Dalaki-Malaki between Karra and Kálinjar by Ulúgh Khán, .....	} 645 H.	{ 1248	Farishta and Tabaqát-i-Násiri
Ulúgh Khán 'marches towards' Kálinjar,..			
Rája Sandhira Varmma Chandel makes a grant of land, .....	1337 S.	1280	Dahi copper-plate.
Rája Kírat Singh Bhar makes at Kálpi a grant of land in Mahoba, .....	} ....	{ ....	Copy of <i>sanad</i> belonging to Kanungo of Mahoba.
Rája Bhoja Varmma Chandel, probably at Kálinjar, .....			
Nána Káyath his minister, .....	....	....	....
Ala-ud-dín's expedition against the Hindus of Bhilsa, .....	692 H.	1293	Farishta.
Defeat of the Bhar Rája of Mahoba by Malik Hasn Shah, .....	....	ditto (?)	Local tradition.
Khangárs of Garh Kurar appointed governors of Mahoba by Dehli court, .....	} ....	{ circa 1300	Local tradition.
Conquest of Málwa by Ain-ul-Mulk Multání, .....			
Erection of mosque at Bhainsa Darwáza, Mahoba, in reign of Ghiyás-ud-din Tughlak, .....	722 H.	1322	Inscription on mosque.
Khangárs of Garh Kurar and Mahoba overthrown by a Gaharwár adventurer, founder of Bundela clan, .....	1400 S.	circa 1340	Tradition.
Malik-us-Shark Nasír-ul-Mulk governor of Mahoba, Karra and Dalamau, .....	} ....	{ circa 1352	Tá r í k h-i-M o b á r i k Sháhí.

## APPENDIX.

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The following extracts from the Cawnpore Settlement Report bearing on the later history of the Chandels, and on their connection with the Gaharwárs of Kanauj came to my notice while these sheets were passing through the press. I am not aware of the existence of any other record of a Chandel principality with its capital at Kanauj.

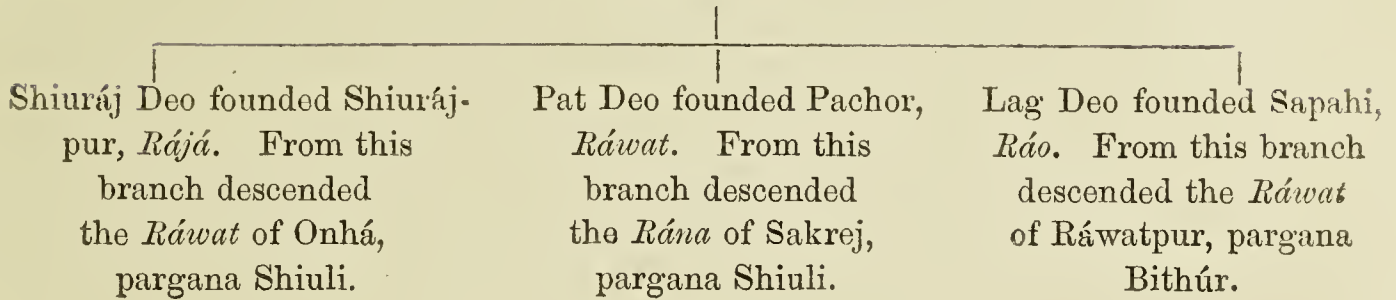
1. The most important tribe in this district is that of the Chandels. I was fortunate enough to obtain two family histories (*Bansáwális*)—one, in Persian, belonging to the now extinct branch of Shiurájpur, the other, in Hindi, to the branch that, settling in Sachendi, covered the south of pargana Jájmau. The former was compiled before the mutiny from documents in his possession by order of the last Rájá, Sati Parshad, who, possibly conceiving he owed but little loyalty to a Government that had stripped him of his large estates, was induced to become a rebel, and though he escaped execution was thrown into prison, and after release died an absolute pauper in the house of Chaube Sidhári Lál, a rising landowner, to whom I am indebted for the loan of the history. The Hindi copy is the compilation of the family bards, and is full of mythical and exaggerated details, but is of value as corroborating the more precise record of the Persian document.

2. It would be foreign to the purpose of this report to relate the earlier history of the Chandels, which, as far as ascertained from these records, was printed in the "Indian Antiquary," February, 1873. I will take up the tale from the migration to Kanauj from Mahoba. On this the Persian manuscript says—"At the time of the Rájá of Kanauj, a Gahrwár, who till this time was rich and prosperous, first from the blows received at the hands of Rái Pithaura, and afterwards from the pressure of Shaháb-ud-din Ghorí, left his home and established himself in Benares. Then Sabhájit by advice of his Wazírs settled in Kanauj." Finding the reputedly rich and wealthy Kanauj open to them, they probably left the sterile Bundelkhund for the fertile Duáb. The year of the migration is given by the Persian manuscripts as *sambat* 1223, by the Hindi one as 1180—a trifling discrepancy.



There were eight Rájás of Kanauj—

Sabhájit.  
Gyás Deo.  
Ghansyám Deo.  
Bihr Deo.  
Lahr Deo.  
Súp Deo.  
Bás Deo.  
Khakh Deo.  
Dham Deo.



3. From thence a migration was made to Rádhan, where are the remains of a large fort, and thence to Shiurájpur, of which settlement the Persian manuscript gives the following account:—

“Shiuráj Deo founded Shiurájpur and called it after his own name, so that from Kumaun to Karra (Manikpur) the whole country of Kanauj was in his possession. Since the rule of the Muhammadans had been established now for some time, all the Rájás and great men of the country attended the emperor’s court, and amongst them Shiuráj Deo, regarding whom it was ordered that leaving Kanauj” (where he was probably too strong) “he was to reside in Tappa-Rádhan and Bilhat, in the pargana of Bithúr, where is ‘Síta Rasoi.’ Shiuráj accordingly obeying the emperor’s order left the fort of Kanauj and, first building a fort in Rádhan, lived there; and afterwards founding Shiurájpur, he established his rule there. While he lived in Kanauj he had soldiers, horse and foot, numerous as the waves of the sea, so that to enumerate them is impossible. They say that when the Rájá went for a short time to Karra, horsemen carried to him the betel-leaf prepared for him daily in his home before the hour of midday meal.”

4. The Gautams (*vide* Elliot’s Glossary) are said to have bestowed on the Chandels the 62 villages which afterwards formed the Rájá’s taluka under our settlements; but there is no mention of this source of the Chandel dynasty in either manuscript. It is most probable that like other tribes they were encouraged by grants of land from the emperor to expel the turbulent Meos.

5. Of the principal branches of the Chandel clan shown above, the Pachor branch is extinct, and the Sakrej branch practically so. The Onha

(Nonári Bahádurpur) taluka consisted originally of 34 villages, of which ten were held nánkár (a sanad of Alamgír bestowing title of Chaudhri of pargana Shiuli confirms this), but the privilege was resumed by Ilmás Ali, who left only ten villages in the possession of the family; these have now, owing to sales for arrears of revenue, dwindled down to six villages, which have only escaped, says Mr. Buck, on account of their lying in a tract of which the greater part of the cultivated area consisting of rice land was not recorded as cultivated in the village papers.

6. The Sapahi taluka consisted originally of 90 villages, of which 48 were separate with the title of Ráwat and formed the Ráwatpur taluka, of which Randhír Singh was the last representative; his estate being now in the hands of the Court of Wards for the benefit of a boy adopted by the widow of his son who died a week after his father. From Ráwatpur one descendant separated his share into the Kákádeo estate, consisting of 23 villages. This is as united a family as there is in the district, and their intelligence has been much sharpened by proximity to the courts. Randhír Singh over-reached himself by his cunning (*v. i.*), but the Kákádeo family have taken stricter precautions to keep the property undivided in the family, though partitions have commenced to disintegrate the once compact property. They fasten their coats on the left side (like Muhammadans), since they were let off some arrears of revenue by the emperor.

7. Of the villages remaining with the original family of Sapahi, 37 have gradually been taken up by other members of the family, two have been given "pún" to Bráhmans, three—Sapahi, Gangroli, and Kíratpur—are the only ones which remain attached to the *gaddi*; and in these even, under the English Government which gives every one his due, the ancestral custom, which retained the whole in the name of the representative of the family, has had to give way before the claims of all the descendants of Híra Singh to their shares calculated *per stirpes*. Hence the revenues of the original seat of the family Sapahi (and Kíratpur) are enjoyed by the cadet branch now represented by Shiudín Singh, those of Gangroli by the sons of the late Ráo Pahlwán Singh, of whom the eldest is a lunatic.

8. The original branches then possessed themselves of the old parganas Shiurájpur, Shíuli, Sakrej, and Bithúr. The branch that settled in Sachendi and overran all the south of pargana Jájmau may be considered but a renegade one. Of its origin the Persian manuscript gives curiously a clearer account than the Hindi manuscript, as follows:—

"They say that Harsingh Deo, son of Karkaj Deo, a brother of Karchand, who lived at Bihari (Pyari), on the bank of the Ganges, had a son, Hindu Singh, very strong and great, but infamous for his oppression of the rayats. At that time Rájá Indarjít hearing of this was grievously

offended. One day that very man, passing through Lachhmanpur Misrán, got up a quarrel with the inhabitants, and began to oppress them greatly. The Bráhmans complained to the Rájá, and set forth all the oppression they had undergone. The Rájá becoming very angry wrote to him, ordering him to leave his home and seek another country, and warned him that to eat and drink in this country was forbidden him: it were better he went elsewhere. He then, with all his belongings, went and settled in Tappa Sapahi (*v. s.*), and became the servant of the Ráo of Sapahi. At that time fortune so favoured Hindú Singh that he rose to great power, and built forts in Behnor and Sachendi, and established his rule over a large tract of country, and engaged thousands of soldiers, horse and foot, and obtained victories in many battles waged against him. His fame was noised abroad, and he assumed the title of Rájá of Sachendi." From the Hindi manuscript, however, of the family history of the Sachendi line, we obtain the following account of the rise of that family, which overran the whole of south Jájmau, and eventually got the territory under the old family temporarily in its grasp:—"The 35th was Gargaj Deo, who had two sons, Karchan Deo, by a concubine, and Har Singh Deo, the sister's son of the Tilok Chand Bais. When Gargaj Deo died, Karchan Deo and Har Singh Deo disputed about the succession, hearing which Tilok Chand came to the Ráni and desired she would give the ráj to Har Singh Deo. She refused and set Karchan Deo upon the *gaddi*. Har Singh Deo left Shiurájpur, came to Behnor and founded Harsinghpur and a second *gaddi*." The truth appears to be more with the latter account, Hindú Singh being a descendant, some generations distant of Har Singh Deo, and living in the reigns of Indarjít and Hindupat (cotemporary of Firoz Sháh), to which Rájás, says the manuscript, "Hindú Singh, in spite of his power, never failed in respect, nor committed so grave an offence as that of his son Sambhar Singh." Hindú Singh's power indeed became so great, and his contumacy so determined, that the reigning emperor got the Bhadauria Rájá to attack him and expel him the country; the great forts of Dinaur, Sachendi, &c. being given over to the Bhadaurias. Sambhar Singh, however, returned eighteen years after and recovered the whole of the lost territory. This same Sambhar Singh rose to such power that he ousted the young Risál Singh (who had to fly the country), and obtained title-deeds to the greater part of the country, and established a "thána in Shiurájpur." With the aid, however, of Nawáb Najaf Khán, Názim of Nawáb Wazír-ul-Mamálik Asf-ud-Daulah, he (Risál Singh) re-established his authority over the whole pargana of Shiurájpur.

9. Sanad of Jalál-ud-din Akbár to Rájá Rámchand. "Since it has been brought to our notice that from time of old, according to immemorial custom, Rs. 15,000 for support, and one 'tinka' per cultivated bigha by

right of seigniority from the villages of pargana Bithur, sirkár Kanauj, by title of zemindári, have been received by my good friend Rámchandra Chandel, and that he is in possession and full enjoyment of that grant and fees; he has petitioned our majesty that an order be passed that the abovementioned grant and fees, by title of zemindári from the villages abovementioned, according to former custom, be continued in his possession and enjoyment from rabi, that from year to year, and from harvest to harvest, he may enjoy and possess them; and being a true and loyal servant, may for ever pray for our greatness and prosperity. Be it ordered, therefore, that all officers and servants, Jagir-darán and Crorian, now and for ever, obeying this order, and accepting those rights as free, complete, and fixed, leave them in his possession, nor change nor alter in any respect, nor interfere in any way, nor demand a fresh title."

95 villages.\*

Rádhan	...	74 villages.	Bharbedi	...	6 villages.
Bilhat	...	12 „	Haveli	...	18 „
Phalphandi	...	7 „	Barua	...	8 „

10. Sachendi, properly Chachendi, was founded by Cháchak Deo, twelfth in descent from Har Singh Deo and the first to assume the title of Rájá, though not invested with the tilak. His brother Kinnar Singh founded Binaur; a second brother, Garab Deo, settled in Garab (pargana Bithúr); a third, Parasráam, in Perajor (pargana Akbarpur). Hindú Singh was sixth in descent from Cháchak Deo; his brother Joóráj settled in Binaur, and Hirde Singh in Panki—all three taking the title of Rájá. The Rájás of Sachendi and Binaur joined the rebels, and their estates were confiscated and bestowed on loyal subjects. The Rájá of Panki has kept possession of only half his ancestral estate, and that half is almost hopelessly burthened with debt, but has been put under the charge of the Court of Wards with the hope of freeing it from the grasp of the money-lender.

11. Thus of the once vast possessions of the Chandels, covering nearly four parganas, Shiurájpur, Shiuli, Bithúr, and Jájmau, only 125 villages remain entire (and some of these have been re-purchased) and shares in others.

12. I defer till the fiscal history the account of the fate of the Shiurájpur talúqa.

13. This tribe has its locale in the southern portion of pargana Bilhaur; the account given of their immigration in the southern portion of the pargana is as follows: After the flight of Mánik Chand, younger

\* Of the above only Rádhan and Barua are names of villages; the remainder are local definitions of areas now extinct.

brother of Jaichand of Kanauj, Thákur Rahtor (though the family history calls him Gahrwár),\* on the victory of Shaháb-ud-din Ghorí, and Mánik Chand's own defeat at Karra Mánikpur, his sons made their way to the Vindhya mountains near Mirzapur, whence one son settled in Orcha, and the youngest returned to Aurangpur Sámhi, and ousting the Ujena Thákurs, who were in possession, established a ráj at Sengh, to which were attached 28 villages (seven across the Ganges), and a cadet branch with the title of Ráo at Madára Rái, with 17 other villages. During the oppressions of the Oudh rule the latter branch became extinct, and only 9 villages remained in the hands of the Sengh Rájá. Owing to the lunacy of the Rájá Bhawáni Singh (who was an adopted heir from that branch of the family which had settled across the Ganges), which threw the estate into the power of his two widows (profligate women), even these have been in danger of transfer, but the estate is now in charge of the Court of Wards, and may be saved for the young occupant of the "gaddi," Takht Singh.†

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*A New Find of Early Muhammadan Coins of Bengal.*—By  
A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PH. D.

(With four Plates.)

In 1863 an unusually large hoard of silver coins, numbering in all no less than 13,500 pieces, was found in the State of Kooch Behár in Northern Bengal.‡ About 10 years later another, much smaller hoard was found in or near the Fort of Bihár, containing only 37 pieces.§ Both hoards consisted of coins of almost exclusively Bengal mints, only a very

\* For an attempted solution of the relation of Gahrwárs to Rahtors I refer to Elliott's Supplementary Glossary. The fanciful derivation given to the name here is "out of house and home" (ghar báhar), referring to the flight of the tribe after the destruction of Kanauj.

† From Mr. F. N. Wright's Report on the Revision of the Settlement of the Cawnpore District, pp. 18—22.

‡ See Report (with list of coins) by Dr. R. Mitra in J. A. S. B. vol. XXXIII, pp. 480—483. Also E. Thomas' *Initial Coinage of Bengal*, in J. A. S. B., vol. XXXVI, p. 1.

§ See Journal A. S. B., vol. XLII, p. 343. The exact date of this find is not mentioned by Mr. Thomas.